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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

MAY 1 1911

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

FRANKLIN P. RICE,
GEORGE H. HAYNES,

CHARLES L. NICHOLS,
JULIUS H. TUTTLE.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society

NEW SERIES, VOL. XX.

OCTOBER 20, 1909—OCTOBER 19, 1910.



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NOTE.

The twentieth volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings from October 20, 1909 to October 19, 1910.

The reports of the Council have been presented by William B. Weeden, George P. Winship, and Waldo Lincoln.

Papers have been received from Austin S. Garver, Clarence M. Burton, Worthington C. Ford, William C. Farabee, Charles H. Lincoln, Benjamin T. Hill, Frederick W. Hodge, Julius H. Tuttle, J. Franklin Jameson, John Bach McMaster and Edward Channing.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Thomas H. Gage, William R. Huntington, John Noble, Caleb B. Tillinghast, Henry P. Upham, Henry C. Lea, George P. Fisher, Deloraine P. Corey, James B. Ayer, Goldwin Smith, George P. Garrison, James L. Whitney, and Frederick J. Kingsbury.

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October, 1860.

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April, 1862.

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April, 1875.

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October, 1877.

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October, 1878.

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April, 1879.

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XII

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April, 1885.

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April, 1886.

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XIII

October, 1886.

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April, 1887.

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April, 1888.

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XIV

April, 1893.

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April, 1902.

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XVI

October, 1902.

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April, 1904.

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October, 1905.

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April, 1907.

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April, 1910.

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April, 1910.

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April, 1908.

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April, 1910.

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October, 1910.

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April, 1909.

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April, 1910.

FEDERICO GONZALEZ SUAREZ, ...	Ecuador.
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FRANCE.

October, 1896.

HENRY VIGNAUD, ... Paris.

April, 1905.

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GERMAN EMPIRE.

April, 1875.

OTTO KELLER, PH.D., ... Prague.

April, 1893.

JOHANNES CONRAD, LL.D., ... Halle.

April, 1910.

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GREAT BRITAIN.

April, 1882.

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April, 1887.

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October, 1892.

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October, 1893.

LORD AVEBURY, D.C.L., ... London.

October, 1894.

HUBERT HALL, F.S.A., ... London.

October, 1901.

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Kew Gardens.

April, 1910.

WILLIAM LAWSON GRANT, ... Oxford.

October, 1910.

ALFRED PERCIVAL MAUDSLAY, ... London.

HOLLAND.

October, 1895.

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April, 1887.

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October, 1890.

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October, 1904.

DAVID CASARES, A.B., . . . Mèrida, Yucatan.

April, 1907.

GENARO GARCIA, . . . Mexico.

April, 1910.

ANTONIO PEÑAFIEL, . . . Mexico.

NORWAY.

October, 1906.

Capt. ROALD AMUNDSEN, . . . Christiania.

PORTUGAL.

April, 1882.

LOUIS HENRY AYMÉ, . . . Lisbon.

October, 1906.

BERNARDINO MACHADO, . . . Coimbra.

RUSSIA.

April, 1893.

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ALEXANDER FRANCIS CHAMBERLAIN, Ph.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
†EDWARD CHANNING, Ph.D., ...	Cambridge, Mass.
†CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., . .	Worcester, Mass.
REUBEN COLTON, A.B., ...	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL MORRIS CONANT, ...	Pawtucket, R. I.
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM, A.B.,	Manchester, Mass.
†ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., .	Cambridge, Mass.
†EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., .	Worcester, Mass.
HORACE DAVIS, LL.D., ...	San Francisco, Cal.
†FRANCIS HENSHAW DEWEY, A.M., . .	Worcester, Mass.
†FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, Litt.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
ROLAND BURRAGE DIXON, Ph.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
GEORGE FRANCIS DOW, ...	Salem, Mass.
FRANK FARNUM DRESSER, A.M., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
CLYDE AUGUSTUS DUNIWAY, Ph.D., . .	Missoula, Mont.
THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN DWIGHT, .	Boston, Mass.
WILBERFORCE EAMES, A.M., ...	New York, N. Y.
†HENRY HERBERT EDES, A.M., ...	Cambridge, Mass.
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES EVANS, ...	Chicago, Ill.
WILLIAM CURTIS FARABEE, Ph.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
MAX FARRAND, Ph.D., ...	New Haven, Conn.
MERRITT LYNDON FERNALD, B.S., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE FORBES, A.B., .	Worcester, Mass.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
ALCÉE FORTIER, Litt.D., ...	New Orleans, La.
†WILLIAM EATON FOSTER, Litt.D., . .	Providence, R. I.
GEORGE EBENEZER FRANCIS, M.D., . .	Worcester, Mass.
HOMER GAGE, M.D., ...	Worcester, Mass.
REV. AUSTIN SAMUEL GARVER, A.M., .	Worcester, Mass.
†FREDERICK LEWIS GAY, A.B., ...	Brookline, Mass.
EDWARD HOOKER GILBERT, A.B., . . .	Ware, Mass.
JOHN GREEN, LL.D., ...	St. Louis, Mo.
†SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
†SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., ...	Worcester, Mass.

CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, A.B.,	Brookline, Mass.
EDWIN AUGUSTUS GROSVENOR, LL.D.,	Amherst, Mass.
LEWIS WINTERS GUNCKEL, PH.B.,	Dayton, O.
REV. EDWARD HENRY HALL, D.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON, A.M.,	Mobile, Ala.
WILLIAM HARDEN,	Savannah, Ga.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
†GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, PH.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
DON GLEASON HILL, LL.B.,	Dedham, Mass.
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE,	Washington, D. C.
SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMAN,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES,	Washington, D. C.
ALBERT HARRISON HOYT, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, PH.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.
GAILLARD HUNT,	Washington, D. C.
ARCHER MILTON HUNTINGTON, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
REV. HENRY FITCH JENKS, A.M.,	Canton, Mass.
EDWARD FRANCIS JOHNSON, LL.B.,	Woburn, Mass.
HENRY PHELPS JOHNSTON, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
†LINCOLN NEWTON KINNICUTT,	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
REV. SHEPHERD KNAPP, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
ALFRED L. KROEBER, PH.D.,	San Francisco, Cal.
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, A.B.,	Cambridge, Mass.
†RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, D.C.L.,	Boston, Mass.
FRANCIS HENRY LEE,	Salem, Mass.
†WALDO LINCOLN, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
COL. WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE, U.S.A.,	Boston, Mass.
†HENRY CABOT LODGE, LL.D.,	Nahant, Mass.
ARTHUR LORD, A.B.,	Plymouth, Mass.
†JOSEPH FLORIMOND LOUBAT, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
REV. WILLIAM DELOSS LOVE, PH.D.,	Hartford, Conn.
†ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM DENISON LYMAN, A.M., . . .	Walla Walla, Wash.
SAMUEL WALKER McCALL, LL.D., . . .	Winchester, Mass.
WILLIAM MACDONALD, LL.D., . . .	Providence, R. I.
ANDREW CUNNINGHAM McLAUGHLIN, LL.B.,	Chicago, Ill.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, LL.D., . . .	Philadelphia, Pa.
FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH, D.C.L., . . .	Easton, Pa.
HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH, . . .	Worcester, Mass.
ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B., . . .	Boston, Mass.
EDWIN DOAK MEAD, . . .	Boston, Mass.
THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM, A.B., . . .	Framingham, Mass.
†REV. DANIEL MERRIMAN, D.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
†ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, Ph.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD MOORE, Ph.D.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
ANSON DANIEL MORSE, LL.D., . . .	Amherst, Mass.
EDWARD SYLVESTER MORSE, Ph.D., . .	Salem, Mass.
WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO, L.H.D., . . .	Providence, R. I.
WILLIAM NELSON, A.M., . . .	Paterson, N. J.
†CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
FREDERICK ALBION OBER, . . .	Hackensack, N. J.
REV. JOHN O'DOWD, A.B., . . .	Portland, Me.
HERBERT LEVI OSGOOD, Ph.D., . . .	New York, N. Y.
THOMAS McADORY OWEN, LL.D., . . .	Montgomery, Ala.
NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, . . .	Albany, N. Y.
REV. HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.
STEPHEN DENNISON PEET, Ph.D., . . .	Salem, Mass.
FREDERICK WARD PUTNAM, Sc.D., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
HERBERT PUTNAM, LL.D., . . .	Washington, D. C.
†JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
†FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE, . . .	Worcester, Mass.
ABBOTT LAWRENCE ROTCH, A.M., . . .	Boston, Mass.
†ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
ELIAS HARLOW RUSSELL, . . .	Tilton, N. H.
MARSHALL HOWARD SAVILLE, . . .	New York, N. Y.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL.D., . . .	Intervale, N. H.
ALBERT SHAW, LL.D., . . .	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, LL.D., . .	New York, N. Y.

CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M., . . .	Boston, Mass.
JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH, A.M., . . .	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM ADDISON SMITH, A.B., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
EZRA SCOLLAY STEARNS, A.M., . . .	Fitchburg, Mass.
†REV. CALVIN STEBBINS, A.B., . . .	Framingham, Mass.
EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, PH.D., . .	New Brunswick, N.J.
HANNIS TAYLOR, LL.D., ...	Mobile, Ala.
ALLEN CLAPP THOMAS, A.M., ...	Haverford, Pa.
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D., . . .	Madison, Wis.
ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, PH.D., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER, PH.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE, ...	Dedham, Mass.
DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE, A.M., . . .	Boston, Mass.
†SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., ...	Worcester, Mass.
REV. CHARLES STUART VEDDER, LL.D., .	Charleston, S. C.
JOSEPH BURBEEN WALKER, A.M., . . .	Concord, N. H.
REV. WILLISTON WALKER, LITT.D., . . .	New Haven, Conn.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN, A.B., . .	Worcester, Mass.
REV. THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS, A.M., .	Ipswich, Mass.
†WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., . . .	Providence, R. I.
BARRETT WENDELL, A.B., ...	Boston, Mass.
ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, D.C.L., . . .	Ithaca, N. Y.
ALBERT HENRY WHITIN, ...	Whitinsville, Mass.
†GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, A.M., . . .	Providence, R. I.
THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP, ...	Boston, Mass.
HENRY ERNEST WOODS, A.M., ...	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL BAYARD WOODWARD, M.D., . .	Worcester, Mass.

† Life members.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 20, 1909, AT
THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

The meeting was called to order by the President, Mr.
WALDO LINCOLN.

The following members were present:—

Nathaniel Paine, Horace Davis, Samuel A. Green, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes, Andrew McF. Davis, Frederic W. Putnam, Daniel Merriman, William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes, George E. Francis, Edward H. Thompson, A. George Bullock, G. Stanley Hall, William E. Foster, Charles P. Bowditch, Edwin D. Mead, Charles Francis Adams, Francis H. Dewey, Henry A. Marsh, Frederick A. Ober, John Green, William T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, George P. Winship, Austin S. Garver, A. Lawrence Rotch, Samuel Utley, James W. Brooks, Edward H. Gilbert, Benjamin T. Hill, Allen C. Thomas, Edmund A. Engler, Alexander F. Chamberlain, William MacDonald, Alexander H. Vinton, Clarence W. Bowen, Deloraine P. Corey, Clarence S. Brigham, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Franklin P. Rice, Worthington C. Ford, Clarence M. Burton, Julius H. Tuttle, Charles G. Washburn, George H. Blakeslee, William C. Farabee, Wilfred H. Munro, Justin H. Smith.

After the reading of the call of the meeting the records of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Report of the Council was read by Mr. WEEDEN.

Following this the Report of the Treasurer was read by Mr. BULLOCK.

Mr. BRIGHAM then read the Librarian's Report. These several reports were on motion accepted as the report of the Council and were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The Recording Secretary announced that the Council recommended for election to the Society the following gentlemen, and they were duly elected by ballot:—

Herman Vandenburg Ames, Ph.D., Philadelphia, Penn.

Edward Everett Ayer, Chicago, Ill.

Hiram Bingham, Ph.D., New Haven, Conn.

Henry Winchester Cunningham, A. B., Manchester, Mass.

Roland Burrage Dixon, Ph.D., Cambridge, Mass.

Frank Farnham Dresser, A.M., Worcester, Mass.

Albert Bushnell Hart, LL.D., Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. Shepherd Knapp, A.B., Worcester, Mass.

The Society then proceeded to the election of the President. The committee of tellers appointed reported that WALDO LINCOLN had received all the votes cast.

Mr. Lincoln, in accepting the office, addressed the Society as follows:—

Gentlemen:—I thank you for this renewed expression of your confidence and I will take advantage of this opportunity, briefly—for our program to-day is a long one—to call your attention and through you the attention of other members not present and of all historical students whom you may know, to the pressing needs of this Society. Through the liberal legacy of the late Stephen Salisbury we have for the past two years had a sufficient income, and have given an indication during that time, of the good work that can be done by the Society when not handicapped by poverty. Our collections have been mater-

ially and wisely increased, excellent progress has been made in cataloguing and arranging our manuscripts, papers of unusual value have been published in our *Proceedings*, and four new volumes of *Collections* are nearly ready for distribution and sale. Unfortunately our most pressing need, and one that had to be met at once, was a larger and more convenient building and safe storage for our invaluable collections. The building whose corner stone will be laid to-day will meet this pressing want. It will give us ample room for the arrangement and classification of our library and for its growth, along the lines where our best work can be done, sufficient for many years; it will give us well lighted and well ventilated rooms for students; and, above all, it will give us that security which our collections have never enjoyed and which will enable us to ask with entire confidence for the custody of rare and valuable volumes and papers of those who wish a safe depository for their treasures.

But with the completion of this building our income, though larger than formerly, will be again inadequate, and if you wish the Society to acquire and maintain the position it should hold as not only the oldest national historical society in the United States but the only one with a library, you must furnish it with additional funds of not less than one hundred thousand dollars, and it is for this that I now appeal. Two years hence we shall celebrate the first centennial of the Society's existence. The most fitting recognition of that event will be the completion of a Centennial Fund for the general purposes of the Society and, if at the same time, or far better, during the present year, we can be given special funds to total another one hundred thousand dollars for the collection, preservation and cataloguing of manuscripts, for the collection, preservation and binding of newspapers, for the acquisition of local histories and genealogies, and for publications, I think you will be astounded to find how soon we can make this the great historical library of the country, for matters pertaining to the history of the Western Hemisphere. To-day, poor in money as we have been, our library is so

rich in material that no historical writer can afford to neglect it. We wish the means to complete our newspaper files; to finish the calendaring of our manuscripts and to increase our collections of them; to publish yearly valuable volumes of transactions; and to increase the facilities for the use of the library by our members and others. This can only be done with money and for that money we must look to the generosity of you and your friends.

In view of the vital importance of this matter I hope that the Society, rather than the Council, will take action, looking to the appointment of a committee to solicit these funds, that such committee may have the force of the whole Society behind it, and meanwhile I trust that you will consider yourselves a committee of the whole in presenting the claims and merits of the Society to all who are likely to be interested in our work and are seeking a worthy object for their generosity.

Dr. Samuel A. Green, Hon. Charles G. Washburn and Frederick A. Ober were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the following year.

This Committee reported the following ticket:—

Vice-Presidents:

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston, Mass.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Council:

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence, R. I.

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, LITT. D., of Portland, Me.

EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.

ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, LITT.D., of New Haven, Conn.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln, Mass.

Recording Secretary:

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, A.M., of Providence, R. I.

Treasurer:

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Committee of Publication:

FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE of Worcester, Mass.

GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, PH.D., of Worcester, Mass.

DELORAINÉ PENDRE COREY of Malden, Mass.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Auditors:

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH of Worcester, Mass.

This ticket was then duly elected by ballot.

HENRY HERBERT EDES then offered the following resolution, which was duly passed.

Voted: That the Finance Committee be instructed to appoint a committee to solicit funds for the Society.

The following telegram, upon vote, was sent to Franklin Bowditch Dexter of New Haven:—

The American Antiquarian Society extends to Professor Dexter their sympathy for his ill health and their regrets for his absence from the annual meeting.

Rev. AUSTIN SAMUEL GARVER then read a memorial of our late associate, Dr. HALE.

CLARENCE MONROE BURTON then read a paper entitled, "John Connolly, a Tory in the Revolution."

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD read a paper entitled, "The Campaign of 1844."

Dr. WILLIAM CURTIS FARABEE read a paper on "Some Customs of the Macheyengas."

On motion, these papers were referred to the Publication Committee.

The President called the attention of the meeting to the interesting fact that Nathaniel Paine, Horace Davis, Samuel Abbott Green, Edward Livingston Davis and William Addison Smith, whose names in the order mentioned, head the list of resident members of the Society, arranged according to the order of their election, were all present at the meeting.

He also announced that immediately after adjournment the members would assemble at the site of the new building, where Charles Francis Adams would deliver an address on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone.

The meeting then dissolved.

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS,

Recording Secretary.

After the meeting, the members were entertained at luncheon by Mr. Francis H. Dewey at his residence.

EXERCISES AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER STONE.

President Lincoln opened the exercises with the following remarks:—

“Gentlemen:—This building which is, when finished, to contain our library, is placed in the middle of a large lot of land with streets on three sides thus ensuring ample protection against fire from outside sources. It is to be of two stories and a basement, the exterior of red brick with white marble trimmings, Concord granite basement and marble dome. The front façade is copied from the first building of the Society, a part of which is still standing on Summer street. The main portion of the building contains the rooms for administration and study. In the basement are the janitor’s room, bindery, unpacking room, two large storage rooms for publications and duplicates, boiler and coal rooms, fan room, and room for filtering the air. The first floor, entered through a vestibule with toilet rooms on either side, contains a large, octagonal reading room open to the dome, with three alcoves for books on either side, a librarian’s room, cataloguing room, council room, and study. On the second floor is a large exhibition hall, manuscript room, map and print room, almanac room, and two newspaper reading rooms. These surround the upper part of the rotunda or main reading room, which is, as I have said, open to the dome.

In the rear of the main building is the stack room, which is to contain the largest standard steel stack in New England, with a capacity of 180,000 books in the three lower tiers, and 15,000 volumes of newspapers in the two upper tiers. The capacity of the whole building is 250,000 volumes or

two and a half times that of our present building, and is so arranged that it will be easy to enlarge the stack room when necessary.

The architects are Winslow, Bigelow & Wadsworth and R. Clipston Sturgis of Boston; the builders, the J. W. Bishop Co. of Worcester. The total cost of the land and building will be approximately \$175,000."

President Lincoln then announced that the following articles had been deposited in the corner-stone:—

Council and Society votes concerning building.

Names of architects, builders, and building committee.

Photographs of two earlier buildings of Society.

Proceedings for year 1908-1909.

Copy of By-laws.

Copy of List of Members.

Copy of Handbook of Information.

Program for meeting of October 20, 1909.

Worcester daily papers for October 18, 1909..

Mr. Charles Francis Adams delivered the following address:—

Collectively, we are here to-day to lay the corner stone of an edifice, elaborate in design and costly in structure, dedicated solely to the preservation of the records of the past, written, printed or sculptured,—the raw material, so to speak, upon which the historical investigator works. Individually, I am here in no private capacity, but as the head of another and older organization, with a local habitation devoted to much the same end. Representing the Massachusetts Historical Society with its home in Boston, I extend the right hand of fellowship to that American Antiquarian Society which, ever making its abiding-place here in Worcester, to-day formally enters on the construction of what it believes will prove its home for generations of membership. But when, committed to the task, I addressed myself to the work of preparation, I found my thoughts insensibly turning in a direction somewhat unusual,—one, in character, almost paradoxical, and, perhaps, not

in entire harmony with the spirit of the occasion. Let me explain.

To compare themselves unfavorably with the earlier time, its achievements, its tendencies and its ideals,—to dwell upon their own earthy shortcomings when placed in bold contrast with the lofty aspirations and heroic accomplishments of an earlier and better day, has been the privilege of almost all countries and of every generation. The decline from loftier ideals,—the general lowering of standards,—the ever-present tendency to materialism, have time out of mind been the favorite text of the poet and the moralist, as to-day they lend inspiration to the ready editorial writer. In this connection memory at once recalls the eloquent voice from Cheyne Row, dilating through thirty volumes on the golden beauty of silence, as he denounced the garrulous, rag-gathering age in which his own lot was cast, given over to idle talk and the worship of mammon; and he compared a noisy but deteriorated present with the sturdy and patient heroism of a silent past. But, to me standing here to-day, things somehow assume another aspect,—in fact an altogether otherwise aspect;—and, as I see, firmly and truly laid, this corner stone of a building dedicated,—lovingly and reverently dedicated,—to the safe preservation of the memorials of the earlier time, and of the present surely destined itself soon to become an earlier time, I find myself impressed not with an overwhelming sense of our own shortcomings, but, strange to say, with a somewhat bitter realization of the shortcomings of the former generations—shortcomings which we with most strenuous effort in vain strive to make good in some slight degree.

Look at that corner stone! There it rests; and, upon it will presently rise a stately edifice in which will be stored,—safe from moth and rust, from fire and from that damp more destructive than fire,—the accumulated and ever-accumulating records of the past. If there is one thing which more than any other one thing differentiates the civilized human being from the beast that perishes, it is this respect and jealous care of the records of the race.

Yet, in its more developed and differentiated form, how old is that care?—how far back can it be traced? It is merely of yesterday at most; in its fully developed phase it is of to-day only.

Take, as examples, the Society I here represent,—take the Society which to-day places this corner stone:—The Massachusetts Historical Society is, I have reason to believe, the earliest historical society, pure and simple, in the world:—it probably antedates all others anywhere,—it certainly antedates all other such societies in America; yet it was organized as recently as 1791, less than a century and a quarter since; while, even according to the biblical chronology, the poor world is, in the language of Rosalind, “almost six thousand years old.” A jealous respect for the records and memorials of the past is, therefore, a distinctly modern invention! Indeed, as President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I never think of the matter from this point of view, that a feeling of exasperation does not come over me,—a species of lamentation over what impresses me as an ancient tale of wrong. What were the previous generations doing that they so wholly failed in their obligations,—could in no way rise to an equality with the occasion? Why bequeath to us this *hiatus valde deflendus*? But again I recur to the Society I represent, and our Massachusetts experience. That Society, the undisputed father of all similar societies in the Commonwealth, dates from January, 1791,—a scant 120 years ago. The earliest settlement of Massachusetts had then been effected over 170 years, and, in 1791, the last survivor of those who founded Boston had been over sixty years in his grave. Six succeeding generations had been gathered. In that way in which we have done so much, what had they accomplished? Nothing!—Absolutely nothing!

Yet what priceless human records had in those years been lost,—irretrievably lost! Take a single case,—the first which occurs to me. When Governor John Winthrop and his company, having temporarily, in the early summer of 1630, camped in what is now Charlestown, moved in the

autumn of that year across to the opposite peninsula of Shawmut, they found William Blackstone,—a species of hermit, wearing an old canonical coat,—established in what was pronounced for those times “a pleasant cottage,” on the West, or sunset, slope of Beacon Hill, looking up the river Charles. He had already been there five years. Presently he moved away, making for himself a new home at what he called Study Hill, not far from Providence, where the river, which here in Worcester finds its source, still perpetuates his name; and there, forty years later, in 1675, he died. A student, as well as a hermit, William Blackstone left behind him not only a library large for those days,—numbering, indeed, some 160 volumes,—but also ten manuscript books, valued in the inventory of his estate at the not excessive sum of six-pence each, or five shillings for the lot. Close upon Blackstone’s death,—indeed, one short month only after,—King Philip’s War broke out; and among the first things to go up in flame and smoke was Blackstone’s home. In it were his library, as also those “ten paper books.” Shortly before valued at five shillings, these “paper books” in all human probability contained Blackstone’s written record of his hermit life at Shawmut during the nine years from 1625 to 1634, and of the forty years subsequently passed by him on the bank of the Blackstone. If they did, we would now give a King’s ransom to recover them!—but they are gone—irrevocably gone! How much else of similar character and scarcely less value, throwing light on the men and events of that intensely interesting period,—New England’s Genesis,—has also been in like manner lost, cannot even be surmised. All we do know is that it was by merest chance only that Bradford’s and Winthrop’s unique and invaluable narratives did not also disappear. The first, indeed, vanished wholly, and was lost to sight for nearly a century,—supposed to be irrevocably gone, until, by purest accident, brought slowly to light in London some fifty years ago; while Winthrop’s no less inestimable journal was exposed to every vicissitude for a century and a half, and was first put in print as recently as 1825. No common and safe depository for such material

existed in 1650; nor, indeed, for over a century after. Its interest and value were simply not understood.

I continually ask myself—How did this occur? Who were the men of those days? Why did it never occur to John Winthrop and John Cotton and Richard Saltonstall that they were founding an Empire, and that it behooved them accordingly to do that which a hundred and seventy years later was at last tardily done by Jeremy Belknap, James Sullivan and James Winthrop? The generation subsequent to the founders produced the Dudleys, the Sewalls and the Mathers; and another, still later, the Rev. Thomas Prince and Dr. Mather Byles and Governor Thomas Hutchinson. How then did it chance that the Massachusetts Historical Society was left to be founded only yesterday, as it were, in 1791, and by men of almost our own time? Why was it not founded, as assuredly it should have been, by Thomas Prince, in 1740; or by Cotton Mather in 1700; or, best of all, by John Cotton and John Winthrop and young Harry Vane, in 1635? Simply, the fathers were not equal to the occasion.

Here in Worcester you did better. Isaiah Thomas, working journalist, practical printer and book-maker that he was, rose more nearly to the required level than the learned Cotton Mather; for, in 1812, when Thomas obtained from the Massachusetts Legislature the Act of Incorporation of this Society, Worcester was a place with but 2,500 inhabitants,—not nearly so large as was Boston when the author of *New England's Magnalia* flourished, over an hundred years before. As I have said, the loss sustained during that hundred years laches of the fathers transcends computation; and, in this respect at least, the world certainly has not since gone backwards. Yet Carlyle stigmatized ours contemptuously as a “rag-gathering generation”! Possibly; still, manuscripts after all are but rags transformed and etherealized; and, assuredly, it would have been far better had the previous generations been equally addicted to the gathering and preservation of that description of rags.

The transformation since effected is great; so great, indeed, that another extreme has, perhaps, resulted. It

was in 1794 that the Massachusetts Historical Society was formally incorporated; this, the American Antiquarian Society, followed, in 1812, eighteen years later; and the number of similar societies which have since, and especially of late years, come or been brought into existence, it would be needless, as well as beside my purpose, to try to enumerate; suffice it to say,—Their name, also, is Legion. And thus we now find ourselves looking at the problem from another and wholly different point of view; a point from which one thing only is clear. That thing, however, it behooves all of us who are responsible for these organizations to consider well, and to consider it especially on such an occasion as this. Clearly, as respects such societies, the period of organization is over. In numbers they now manifestly tend to run into excess; and in that excess is peril;—for the present tendency undeniably is towards the careful and costly preservation of much in no way worth preserving, and to the printing of much more which, if measured by its value, had better never be put in type at all. As a consequence, our museums are already overloaded, while the shelves and stacks of our libraries wholly fail to supply room for an accumulation which dates back a century only. Such an utterance may, especially on such an occasion as this, jar harshly on the ears of some, especially on those of the librarian class; but I venture a confident opinion that the world of scholarship would be in no wise appreciably poorer if one half, and that the larger half, of the printed matter now accumulated in our public libraries could to-morrow be obliterated—swept clean out of existence. The useless accumulation there is already terrific; its future, appalling. The same also is true of our museums—artistic, scientific, archaeologic. The stolid indifference of the fathers has passed in the children into what is little less than a craze of indiscriminate preservation. The abuse will, of course, work its own remedy; but not the less for that is it incumbent on us who are responsible for the present policy of these organizations to take note of the tendencies. Those even now call loudly for reform. For myself, I frankly admit that I never go into a modern

museum or glance through the stacks of an up-to-date Public Library without reverting in memory to a remark somewhere made by Hawthorne, after wearisomely plodding through a great European collection,—in Paris, I think,—that it would be a most desirable consummation were some arrangement possible to be made by virtue of which each generation should cart its rubbish off with it. Myself an historical investigator, I, in a way, heartily endorse this suggestion. The crying need to-day is not for fresh and enlarged receptacles; but, to use a few long words, for a wiser discrimination and a more scientific differentiation.

Moreover, not only do we accumulate too much, but, regardless of cost, space or utility, we duplicate these excessive accumulations. In this respect, it is, I confidently submit, with institutions much as it is with individuals. In the case of individuals, the noble aspirations and not unreasonable standards of even a century since would now by us be considered Quixotic; and most justly so. In 1600, Bacon, for instance, declared that he took all Learning for his Province; and from that day to this, the utterance has in him been admired. But such a purpose, humanly speaking, a possibility then, would now, if in like way announced, be regarded as the mouthing rhodomontade of a born sciolist. What is true in this respect of men is true also of organizations. To justify a continued existence they must in future differentiate; and, discarding all thought of universality, seek perfection in narrower but more carefully selected fields. A full recognition of this fact, and implicit obedience to the law which therefrom follows, are, I hold, essential to the continued usefulness, not only of the Society I here represent and the sister Society which to-day sets this corner stone, but of all similar organizations. Each must take to heart old Pliny's maxim, and, like a cobbler, stick to his last.

For example, take the case in hand:—This American Antiquarian Society was founded on a plan natural and proper enough a century ago; manifestly, too ambitious now. Its chief and ostensible object was to be "the collecting and preserving the materials for a study of American History

and antiquities"; but, in the century which has since intervened, American history and American antiquities have so differentiated and developed that no Society, local or otherwise, can hope to cover the field in its entirety. Did it attempt so to do it could at best only hope in some respects, and at great outlay, in a superficial way to duplicate what was much more thoroughly done elsewhere. It can attain force and excellence only by concentrated limitation; it must put forth its strength and apply its resources in some more narrowly selected field.

In the case of this Society, that field, most fortunately, as it has seemed to me, is to a great extent marked out for it in advance. Its founder, Isaiah Thomas, I have already referred to. He was himself a journalist, and the author of a history, for those days elaborate, of printing in America. He gave to the organization its initial impetus; and, accordingly, it is in the productions of the early American press that your collections, already strong, should be slowly, systematically and patiently perfected. Through gift and purchase and exchange, your mission should be to get into the possession of the American Antiquarian Society specimens of everything printed in America prior to 1820, especially journals and newspapers. The total of titles so included would, I see it estimated in your "Handbook," be some 75,000 in number, of which the library already possesses over one-third. Slowly to complete the list at whatever sacrifice of time, labor and money, or through exchange or facsimile reproduction, should be the Society's mission as well as pride; and the value of such a collection, once made complete, it has been truly said, could not be over-estimated.

This, prior to 1820; subsequently to that date the effort at inclusive perfection should, I submit, in wisdom be further differentiated, and yet more strictly localized. It should be specialized on what is known as "the Heart of the Commonwealth." Your collection should be made to include every book, periodical, journal or newspaper printed within a specific area, all the municipal documents and corporate reports of that area, and every manuscript

record relating to it, judged worthy of preservation, upon which hands can be laid; and to universality and completeness in this chosen field other things should be made to give way. Space, money, thought and labor—all should be devoted to the accomplishment of one well-defined result. Miscellaneous literature and collections, no matter how tempting—works of art or of archaeology, no matter how rare,—both can, and assuredly will find a more appropriate place elsewhere, in libraries and museums specially designed for their reception, display and study.

Looked at from this point of view, the situation needs to be grasped in a spirit at once large, comprehensive, catholic; for it is a world-wide problem, directly subject to far-reaching modern influences. It is, for instance, always affected, sometimes revolutionized, by each new development of steam, electricity or chemistry. Everlastingly subject to these influences, the librarian and curator will in time get so far as to realize that this world of ours is, as respects its accumulations, passing out of the bookworm and provincial phase. The period of miscellaneous, accidental and duplicated collection is over, and civilization is entering on an epoch of collectivism and concentration. Completeness, on the one hand, and the elimination of the superfluous and the useless on the other, are the two great desiderata; but, to bring them about as results will at best be a very gradual educational process. The jackdaw and magpie spirit cannot be exorcized; and so it must be outgrown. Once, however, it is outgrown, and a more comprehensive and scientific method matured in place of it, the process of accumulation will proceed on a carefully matured plan, thereafter persistently adhered to.

It is in the power, and in my judgment should be the ambition and the province of the American Antiquarian Society to contribute effectively and appreciably towards bringing this result about. Should it rise to an equality with the great occasion, the stone this day laid will prove indeed monumental,—a finger-post no less than a mile-stone.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council held a special meeting at the Public Library, on Wednesday Feb. 24, 1909, at 11 A. M., to take action upon the death of Carroll D. Wright.

Mr. GREEN called the meeting to order and made the following remarks:

"Mr. Wright was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1893. He was chosen a member of the Council in October, 1903. At the meeting of the Society held October 19, 1905, he read a paper, as a portion of the report of the Council, on the history of labor organizations, ancient, medieval and modern. At the October meeting of the Society in 1907, he made some very felicitous remarks respecting the occurrence at that time of the sixtieth anniversary of the election of our beloved first vice-president, Reverend Doctor Edward Everett Hale, to membership in the American Antiquarian Society.

"The Society and Council welcomed Mr. Wright most heartily to membership. He had a national reputation and it might be said of him as he so truly remarked of Dr. Hale that 'he belonged to the nation.' Important duties were continually entrusted to him. His successful efforts in aiding to bring about peace between coal strikers and their employers at a very critical period will always be remembered. His services as head of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, and in the national positions of Commissioner of Labor Statistics and Director of the Census, resulted in a mass of digested material of especial value to students of state, national and general history, and call especially for the grateful recognition of members of such a society as ours.

"It was delightful to note the close, respectful and affectionate relations which existed between Colonel Wright and

President Roosevelt. I remember that our late beloved associate, Senator Hoar, at a meeting of the Council at his house, while we were seated at the supper table, drew a letter of the President from his pocket and read to us passages which showed tender feelings of love and respect for Mr. Wright.

"It was also in fulfilment of a promise made to him that the President graced by his presence the exercises of the first Commencement of Clark College. Mr. Wright's services in starting that institution have received local recognition and an increasingly broadening appreciation in larger sections. Senator Hoar always felt very happy in having solved a difficult problem in thinking of and suggesting Mr. Wright for head of Clark College. He knew that he would secure in him a man of suitable qualities and acquirements and of international reputation.

"Mr. Wright was fond of executive work. He also manifested a strong interest in the students under his care, and by his familiar and kindly ways endeared them to him, showing in this respect the quality, which he declared, in his remarks in the Proceedings of this Society about Senator Hoar, he very much admired in him.

"Colonel Wright was especially distinguished by good fellowship. His large and intimate acquaintance with a great number of distinguished men whom he had met in public life, added to his charming geniality and quiet serenity, made him a delightful companion."

Mr. ANDREW MCF. DAVIS then offered the following:

"Through the death of Carroll Davidson Wright, the American Antiquarian Society loses from its roll of membership the name of one who had achieved international fame as an economist, a statistician and an educator; the Council loses the advantage of his wise, prudent, cautious and conservative advice; the individual members of the Council lose from their meetings the presence of one whose manly bearing and courteous deportment served as an inspiration, whose genial and affable converse was worthy of adoption as an example.

"The nation loses a citizen, who in the time of its peril exposed his life to secure its safety, and who in later days through his services in the Bureau of Labor, his work upon the Census, and his publications as an author, secured renown for himself and at the same time aided in the development of that branch of modern sciences known as Political and Social Science.

"The Commonwealth loses one who had served in the legislature as a law-maker and who had for fifteen years performed with satisfaction the difficult duties of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics and Labor.

"The city in which he lived and the college of which he was the head have both suffered from this visit of the angel of death, the one through the loss of a citizen of ripe experience and wide sympathies, the other through the check that has thus come to the career of the institution whose activities he supervised and directed and in whose future he saw such great opportunities.

"Through his service with us in the Council of this Society, we have been brought to an appreciation of Colonel Wright's brilliant career and of his estimable qualities as a man and as a friend. Our personal touch with him has led us to give full value to his unobtrusive modesty and his keen sense of justice, and hence to understand how effective these qualities have been in commanding the confidence of both sides in the great controversies in the arbitration in which he took a hand.

"It is therefore Resolved by us as members of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society that we will attend his funeral.

"It is further Resolved, that the foregoing minutes be spread upon our records, and that a copy of the same be sent to the family of the deceased."

Further remarks in eulogy were made by NATHANIEL PAINE and EDWARD L. DAVIS.

Attest:

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,

Recording Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

A special meeting of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society called by the President, was held at the Hall of the Society on Saturday, June 12th, 1909, at 11 A. M.

Mr. LINCOLN said that he had called the meeting in order that the Council might take action concerning the death of Vice-President Edward Everett Hale. He stated that Mr. Hale was elected a member of the Society in 1847; was on the publication committee from 1849 continuously until October, 1907; was elected to the Council in October, 1852; and was a member of the Council from that time until his death, either through election to the Council, or *ex-officio*, in consequence of being elected to some office in the Society. He was Recording Secretary from 1854 to 1857, Vice-President from 1891-1905, President in 1906, and Vice-President from 1907 to the time of his death, a record unequalled by any other member of the Society. Mr. LINCOLN further said that he had asked Mr. Samuel S. Green to prepare a brief memorial sketch of our honored friend, which might be placed upon our records as evidence of the esteem in which we held him.

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN then read the following memorial:

"Some of the leading incidents of Mr. Hale's connection with this Society have been recited by the President, and his remarkable achievements elsewhere will be treated in a communication to the Society at its next regular meeting. It belongs to this occasion for the Council of the American Antiquarian Society to add a few words of appreciative and affectionate remembrance to the numberless loving tributes that with rare spontaneity are being paid to-day to our deceased friend, so long a member of the Council.



Edward E. Hale
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"As we loved him, he loved the American Antiquarian Society. This organization and its members were always very dear to him. His interest began when he was a young man, immediately after coming to Worcester to be the first pastor of the Church of Unity, an offshoot of the historic old Second Parish in the town of Worcester, and it never ceased or grew less.

"This was his first settlement as a minister and he became at once a minister of the town as well as of his society. Older residents remember with especial interest his earnest sympathy with the late Eli Thayer in starting a northern movement to colonize Kansas and keep it from the control of slave-holders. His services in this cause were valuable, for whenever he felt, he acted. Mr. Hale performed a lion's share of the work needed in carrying on the benevolent work of Worcester. He is particularly remembered as a warm friend of the Young Men's Library Association, the library of which afterwards became the nucleus of the circulating department of the Free Public Library, and of its child, the Worcester Natural History Society.

"Mr. Hale's services to the American Antiquarian Society and to the cause of historical investigation generally have been of priceless value. Not that he was always accurate, but because of his readiness to investigate, his love of investigation, the broadness of his interests, and the great power that he had of awakening interest and exciting others to make minute and careful investigations.

"He was a famous story-teller and his stories as they appeared gave great pleasure. A recent collection of his imaginative writings shows that many of them, although written hurriedly, as were all of his literary productions, are of permanent interest and likely to aid materially in keeping his memory in grateful remembrance.

"But above all we admired and loved our friend for his beautiful and loving spirit and his never declining thirst to do good and help everybody. To every man, woman and child, his presence was a benediction. To us who knew him intimately he was a dear and indispensable

loving presence, a father or brother, as well as a whole-souled friend."

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE in moving the adoption of the Memorial by the Council, said:

"I cannot let this occasion pass without saying a few words about my friendship of more than sixty years with Dr. Hale.

"When he came to Worcester in 1846, as Pastor of the Church of Unity, I was a member of the Sunday School of that Society. I soon became very much interested, and attached to Mr. Hale, and it was my custom, as a young man, to go to his rooms in Park Street most every Saturday afternoon. (He had his room and library at that time with Moses D. Phillips, the prominent book-seller of Worcester, afterwards of the firm of Phillips & Sampson, of Boston.) My friendship with Dr. Hale continued up to the time of his death, and I feel that I owe much to him for many kindnesses extended to me while he lived in Worcester, as well as since.

"I was always glad to be called by him, one of his boys, and when only about a year and a half ago I saw him in Washington, I was much pleased to be introduced to the Vice-President as one of his boys. Dr. Hale made friends of the young men of his parish and took a great interest in their welfare. I am sure they all honored and respected him. One thing that always appealed to me very strongly about him was his remarkable impressiveness in prayer. He never seemed to hesitate for the right word, but he spoke so clearly, strongly, and with such ease as to convince all that he felt and meant just what he said. As the Chaplain of the Senate of the United States, he made a deep impression on the Senate and his prayers there were many of them stenographically reported and published in book form.

"Dr. Hale was a genuine man, and was most liberal and generous to those of different religious faith from his own. While in Worcester, at the Church of Unity, clergymen of

all denominations respected him as a Christian gentleman, even if not agreeing with his religious views. Dr. Gordon of the Old South Church of Boston, has said of him, since his death: 'He was more than a good servant of our people; he was a distinctive and extraordinary individual. He was an ardent American philanthropist, freeman and Christian. While contemporaneous with every new effort to help men, he brought down to us the best traditions of the Puritan generation.' Dr. Hale was one who always seemed to be thinking of others. He was ever in favor of any good cause which looked to the good of the whole people. He will be mourned, tenderly remembered and truly revered by the whole country.

"Dr. Hale was the senior member of this Society, having been elected in 1847, and has always been devoted to its welfare. In the early years of his membership, he was a constant attendant at our meetings and an active worker in all that seemed to be for the best interests of the Society.

"His literary work like everything else he undertook was of a high character, and his career as an editor was a marked one. We all remember his published stories, which were so original and with some good object in view, like his 'Man without a Country,' 'Ten Times One is Ten,' and 'In His Name.'

"One of his characteristic mottoes was:—

" 'Look up, not down
Look forward and not back
Look out and not in,
And lend a hand.'

"In the death of Dr. Hale, the American Antiquarian Society has lost a good member, one who was not only honored and respected by our members, but by large numbers in the State and Nation.

"Much more might be said of our beloved friend, but this is not the time for extended remarks. I concur most heartily in what has been said of Dr. Hale in the Memorial read by Mr. Green, and move that it be entered upon our records."

Further remarks in eulogy were made by ANDREW McF. DAVIS and EDWARD L. DAVIS.

The Memorial was then adopted by the Council and ordered to be spread upon the records.

ANDREW McF. DAVIS,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council of the American Antiquarian Society begs to submit its semi-annual report.

A death-roll of unusual length engages our attention. Messrs. Gage, Hale, Huntington, Noble, Tillinghast and Upham have passed from our membership and will be duly commemorated in the current Proceedings, by those especially delegated for the duty.

The death of Edward Everett Hale demands notice from every member and all functions of the Antiquarian Society. Perhaps no citizen of the United States ever was more generally recognized as the friend of everyone and the promoter of the public good, than Doctor Hale. Our association was more directly interested. For nearly sixty-two years he had been a most active member, constantly in office, and was once our President. For this remarkable period—a term comprehending two generations of men—he took part in our work in every possible way. If this Society did not direct his course, it certainly gave opportunity for developing his natural historic bent. Associating with us so early in his career, his relations with the work and the members were peculiarly affectionate, his presence being always fascinating. Messrs. Hale and Hoar were *par nobile fratrum* in the Antiquarian fellowship.

The main business of the Council has been in advising President Lincoln in his conduct of the new building we are about to instal. A contract was made June 22, 1909. with the J. W. Bishop Co. to build according to plan and specification for \$148,209. The building was to be two storied, the exterior of brick and marble, the substructure of granite. A central hall and alcoves with stack will afford facilities for our varied departments. A Handbook

of Information giving the history and present condition of the Society is being distributed to the members. This includes a detailed specification of the building. A present capacity of 250,000 volumes is contemplated.

The Council were driven somewhat beyond their intention and desire, in the outlay required for a proper building. The final outcome of plans, resulting from much investigation and careful thought, exceeded by about \$25,000 the casual estimates in the beginning. The building as evolved would exceed so little the cost of the narrowest accommodation that might have been practicable that the proposed expenditure seemed to be only forecasting economy. Those of us who consider that our main purpose should be the use and development of historic material, rather than accumulation of printed books—however valuable—were obliged to admit that the projected store room was necessary.

A needed provision for books exceeded the customary annual outlay. It was met by an increasing income from the special funds.

The following report has been made to the Council by the Publication Committee:—

“The Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin has been included in the Translations and Collections of the Society as Volume VIII.

“The Diary of Isaiah Thomas will form Volumes IX and X, and the second volume is now well advanced in printing.

“Volume XI, the Manuscript Records of the French and Indian War, in the possession of the Society, has been issued.

“The Royal Proclamations will form Volume XII, and this is nearly ready for the press and will be printed immediately.

“The delay in issuing the Proceedings was unavoidable on account of the necessity of revision of the material, and the difficulty in the production of the illustrations. It is intended that these obstacles will be avoided in the future.”

Notwithstanding our increased endowment, emphasizing as it does the hereditary Salisbury generosity, the time demands yet more means, to accomplish work literally

falling into our hands. Our new executive energies are opening out constant issues, and they all need capital. The President will make an especial appeal for funds, needed by reason of the present condition of affairs.

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

Thomas H. Gage died in Worcester, Mass., September 17, 1909, having been a member of this Society since 1878. He was born in Waterford, Me., May 26, 1826, the son of Dr. Leander Gage, a physician of high standing in that vicinity, was graduated from Harvard Medical School in 1852, was Assistant House Surgeon in the Massachusetts General Hospital for one year, after which he practiced in Sterling, Mass., till 1856, then coming to Worcester where he remained till death. He retired from the practice of his profession some years ago, but was active in business till the last. During the Civil War he was in service as surgeon. He was connected with Massachusetts hospitals and with business and benevolent institutions, and for many years was Trustee and Treasurer of Clark University, his books being regarded as models by other institutions. In 1860 he married Ann Lane and had three children, all surviving him. S. U.

William Reed Huntington was born in Lowell, Mass., September 20, 1838, and died in Nahant, Mass., July 26, 1909, having been a member of this Society since 1875. He was graduated from Harvard in 1859, being the Class Poet, was instructor in chemistry there for a time, Assistant Rector at Emmanuel Church in Boston, Rector of All Saints Church in Worcester, 1862-1883, when he became Rector of Grace Church, New York, succeeding the late Bishop Potter. He remained there until his death, repeatedly declining the office of bishop. He was distinguished for his kindly attitude towards other denominations, and his interest in charity, which was widespread and untiring. He was a notable figure in religious and philanthropic life. He received these degrees; that of D.D., from Columbia, Princeton, Harvard, Yale; that of D. C. L., from the University of the South; that of L. H. D., from Hobart; that of LL. D. from Union. S. U.

John Noble was born in Dover, N. H., April 14, 1829, and died in Boston, Mass., June 10, 1909. He was graduated from Harvard in 1850, taught in the Boston Latin School 1850-6 and in Harvard in 1857, practiced law in Boston 1858-1875 when he became clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, holding that office till 1908 when he resigned by reason of ill health. He became a member of this Society in 1898 and contributed a paper entitled "A Few Personal Notes on the Shays Rebellion." He was also a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Historical Association, the Colonial Society, and many other societies of local interest. Dartmouth conferred on him the degree of LL. D., in 1902.

S. U.

Caleb Benjamin Tillinghast died in Boston, Mass., April 28, 1909. He was born in West Greenwich, R. I., April 3, 1843, was educated in the public schools of Connecticut and taught there for some time, during which he was accustomed to walk five miles weekly to secure books for his studies. From 1870 to 1879 he was city editor of the *Boston Journal*. He was treasurer of the Massachusetts Board of Education beginning in 1879 and also was practically the librarian of the Massachusetts State Library for the same period, though being nominally assistant librarian till 1883. He reorganized and developed that library, made it systematic and a vitalizing agency not exceeded in usefulness for the purpose for which it is used. He was chairman of the Massachusetts Free Public Library Commission, vice-president and chairman of the committee of publication of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, a member of the American Historical Association, and a member of this Society since 1907, serving on the Committee of Publication where his services were of great value. In 1886 he married Mrs. Martha A. Woonson. In 1897 Harvard conferred on him the degree of A.M., and in 1904 he received that of Litt. D., from Tufts.

S. U.

Henry Pratt Upham was born in Millbury, Mass., January 26, 1837, and died in St. Paul, Minn., May 1, 1909, having been a member of this Society since 1893. He

attended the public schools in Worcester, Mass. and 1855-6 was clerk in a bank in Tolland, Conn., going from there to St. Paul, Minn., which thereafter was his home. For several years he dealt in lumber. In 1863 he returned to banking which became his life business, first as teller of Thompson Brothers' Bank, later as cashier of the City Bank, and, on its consolidation with the First National Bank in 1873, as cashier of that institution till 1880 when he became its president, holding that office till January 1907 when he resigned on account of ill health. It is said that "Much of the unquestioned success and high standing of this bank may be attributed to the ability, foresight, wisdom and conservatism of Mr. Upham." He was a member of the Minnesota Historical Society since 1868, of its council since 1875, its treasurer since 1876, chairman of its Library Committee and of its Finance Committee for many years, and was one of the most active and useful members of that society. A good man of affairs, noted for quiet and widespread charities, he was a marked figure in the community in which he lived. He showed constant interest in this Society, giving it many valuable books, among which are Jesuit Relations, 73 volumes, Charlevoix's New France, 6 volumes, Thwaites' Early Travels, 32 volumes, Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 7 volumes, and Old Families of Salisbury and Amesbury, 1 volume. In 1868 he married Miss Evelyn G. Burbank who, with three children, survives him. This brief tribute is largely taken from the Proceedings of the Minnesota Historical Society of May 10, 1909.

S. U.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending Sept. 30, 1909, and a statement of the investments of the Society.

The assets Oct. 1, 1909 are \$451,005.37 being \$7849.31 larger than the same date a year ago.

The values at which the investments are carried out have not been changed since last year, nor is it believed that any great actual difference would be found in the market values of such of them as are sold on the exchanges. While a very few items are perhaps not worth quite the amount at which they stand, most of them are worth more, and the list as a whole is carried out at values less than the market value.

A sum amounting to \$7,045.72 stands credited to the various funds, being income which has not been expended during the year.

In July 1909, we received \$2,000 from the estate of Mrs. Frances W. Haven, which is held by us as "The Frances W. Haven Fund."

We also received from our associate, Mr. Franklin B. Dexter, of New Haven, \$100, to be used for the Reference Department of our Library.

The land upon which the new Building is being erected cost the Society \$14,958.50.

Last year we expended on the construction \$1,333.57, and we have expended this year \$9,320.48, making a total expenditure on account of building and land, \$25,612.55.

A. G. BULLOCK,

Treasurer.

RECEIPTS.

Assets October 1, 1908.....	\$443,156.06	
Interest received since October 1, 1908.....	17,589.70	
Assessments received since October 1, 1908 .	395.00	
Life Membership Fees.....	100.00	
Sale of Books, etc.....	2.68	
Estate of Frances W. Haven.....	2,000.00	
City National Bank final dividend.....	77.00	
Special Gifts.....	100.00	
Amount expended on new building last year and charged off as other expenditures now carried as an asset (See real estate account).	1,333.57	
		\$464,754.01

DISBURSEMENTS.

Incidental Expenses.....	\$436.45	
Salaries.....	6,219.91	
Cataloguing manuscripts.....	1,500.00	
Treasurer and Office Expense.....	171.82	
Light, Heat, Water and Telephone.....	353.23	
Supplies.....	286.61	
Books.....	3,422.98	
Publishing.....	732.30	
Binding.....	136.02	
Repairs on Furniture and Paintings.....	273.50	
Rent of Newspaper room.....	200.00	
Repairs on Buildings.....	15.82	\$13,748.64
Assets,		\$451,005.37

ASSETS OCT. 1, 1909.

Bonds.....	\$298,992.00	
Stocks.....	35,318.00	
Mortgage Loans.....	15,100.00	
Real Estate.....	65,612.55	
Savings Bank Deposits.....	150.56	
Bond Premium Account.....	732.74	
Cash in Bank subject to check.....	35,099.52	\$451,005.37

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

BONDS.	PER CENT.	PAR.	BOOK.
Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co.....	4	\$ 2,000	\$ 1,946
Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co.....	4	11,000	11,000
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. .	4	2,000	1,540
Carried forward,			\$14,486

<i>Brought forward,</i>		\$14,486
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R. 4 ¹	1,000	885
Baltimore & Ohio R. R. 3 ¹	5,000	4,637
Boston & Albany R. R. 4	15,000	14,887
Boston & Maine R. R. 3 ¹	5,000	4,593
Boston Elevated Ry. Co. 4	2,000	2,000
Boston Elevated Ry. Co. 4 ¹	8,000	7,960
Baltimore, Md, City of 4	15,000	15,000
Boston, Mass., City of 3 ¹	15,000	14,325
Brockton, Mass., City of 4	2,000	2,000
Chicago, Ill., City of 4	8,000	8,000
Duluth, Minn., City of 4	2,000	1,940
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R. . . 4	5,000	5,000
Chicago, Cinn. & Louisville R. R. . . . 4 ¹	3,000	3,000
Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. . . . 5	9,000	9,000
Chicago, Indiana & Southern R. R. . . 4	12,000	10,920
Congress Hotel Co., Chicago, Ill. . . . 6	5,000	5,000
Crompton & Knowles Loom Works. . . 6	4,000	4,000
Ellicott Sq. Co., Buffalo, N. Y. 5	5,000	5,000
Fitchburg R. R. 3 ¹	10,000	9,300
Hoosier Equipment Co. 5	2,000	2,000
Illinois Central R. R. 3 ¹	2,000	2,000
Jersey City, N. J., City of 4	5,000	4,931
Kansas City, Mo., City of 4	15,000	14,400
Lake Shore & Mich. So. R. R. 4	10,000	8,770
Louisville & Nashville Unified R. R. . . 4	10,000	9,470
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill Ry. Co. . 5	7,000	6,570
Lynn & Boston Ry. Co. 5	1,000	1,000
Marlboro & Westboro Ry. Co. 5	1,000	1,000
Memphis, Tenn., City of 4	5,000	4,887
Middletown, Conn., City of 3 ¹	5,000	4,700
New York, City of 4 ¹	20,000	20,000
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. 4	10,000	10,000
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. 3 ¹	2,000	2,000
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. 6	2,200	2,189
Old Colony R. R. 4	3,000	2,970
Omaha, Neb., City of 4 ¹	15,000	15,000
Penobscot Shore Line R. R. 4	5,000	4,943
Pere Marquette R. R. 4	5,000	5,000
Quincy, Mass., City of 4	4,000	4,000
Southern Indiana R. R. 4	2,000	2,000
Union Pacific R. R. 4	500	450
Waterbury, Conn., City of 4	10,000	9,600
West End St. Ry. Co. 4	1,000	1,000
Wilkesbarre & Eastern R. R. 5	2,000	2,000

Carried forward,

\$282,813

<i>Brought forward,</i>		\$282,813
Woonsocket, R. I., City of.....4	12,000	11,179
Worcester & Marlboro St. Ry. Co.....5	3,000	3,000
Worcester & Webster St. Ry. Co.....5	2,000	2,000
		\$298,992

STOCKS.	Par	Book
Shares	Value.	Value.
20 Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.....	\$2,000	\$2,000
11 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R.	1,100	687
10 Boston Tow Boat Co.....	1,000	1,000
32 National Bank of Commerce, Boston	3,200	3,200
6 Fitchburg National Bank, Fitchburg	600	600
50 Fitchburg Railroad Co.....	5,000	5,000
35 Mass. Gas Light Companies (Pref.)..	3,500	2,900
55 N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co.....	5,500	6,500
30 Northern R. R. (N. H.).....	3,000	3,000
3 Old Boston National Bank.....	300	300
11 Old South Building Trust (Pref.)....	1,100	981
30 Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....	3,000	3,000
16 Webster & Atlas National Bank.....	1,600	1,800
25 West End St. Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	1,250	1,250
10 Worcester Gas Light Co.....	1,200	1,200
16 Worcester National Bank.....	1,600	1,600
3 Worcester Trust Co.....	300	300

\$35,318

MORTGAGE LOANS.

J. Burwick, Worcester, Mass.....	\$2,100
L. I. Mellen, Worcester, Mass.....	1,500
B. F. Sawyer, Worcester, Mass.....	3,500
J. P. Sexton, Trustee, Worcester, Mass.....	8,000
	\$15,100.00

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Peoples Saving Bank.....	\$13.29
Worcester Five Cent Savings Bank.....	19.14
Worcester Mechanics Savings Bank.....	118.13
	\$150.56

REAL ESTATE.

Library Building.....	\$40,000.00	
New Library Building.....	25,612.55	\$65,612.55

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS
FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPT. 30, 1909.

Alden Fund.

Principal.....		\$1,000.00
Balance of income from last year...	5.00	
Income during the year.....	45.00	50.00

Bookbinding Fund.

Principal.....		\$7,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$36.30	
Income during the year.....	337.50	
	\$373.80	
Expenditure.....	136.02	\$237.78

George Chandler Fund.

Principal.....		\$500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 2.50	
Income during the year.....	22.50	
	\$25.00	
Expenditure.....	24.73	\$0.27

Collection and Research Fund.

Principal.....		\$17,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$236.43	
Income during the year.....	772.70	
	\$1,009.13	
Expenditure.....	977.31	\$31.82

Isaac and Edward L. Davis Fund.

Principal.....		\$15,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$214.30	
Income during the year.....	675.00	
	\$889.30	
Expenditure.....	873.76	\$15.54

John and Eliza Davis Fund.

Principal.....		\$3,900.00
Balance of income from last year.....	77.74	
Income during the year.....	180.95	
	258.69	
Expenditure.....	231.87	\$26.82

Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Principal.....		\$4,800.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$183.58	
Income during the year.....	216.00	
	\$399.58	
Expenditure.....	396.75	\$2.83

George E. Ellis Fund.

Principal.....		\$17,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$183.10	
Income during the year.....	787.50	
	\$970.60	
Expenditure.....	631.95	\$338.65

Librarians' and General Fund.

Principal.....		\$35,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$417.01	
Income during the year.....	1,577.68	
	\$1,994.69	
Expenditure.....	144.42	\$1,850.27

Haven Fund.

Principal.....		\$1,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$14.27	
Income during the year.....	67.50	
	\$81.77	
Expenditure.....	72.30	\$9.47

Library Building Fund.

Principal.....		\$40,000.00
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Life Membership Fund.

Principal, Oct. 1, 1908.....	\$2,600.00	
Fees received this year.....	100.00	\$2,700.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$13.00	
Income during the year.....	119.50	\$132.50

Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Principal.....		\$7,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$37.10	
Income during the year.....	320.42	
	\$357.52	
Expenditure.....	334.20	\$23.32

Publishing Fund.

Principal.....		\$32,000 00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$342.70	
Income during the year.....	1,440.00	
	\$1,782.70	
Expenditure.....	782.30	\$1,000.40

Salisbury Building Fund.

Principal.....		\$6,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$120.20	
Income during the year.....	270.00	\$390.20

Salisbury Mansion Fund.

Principal.....		\$35,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 163.41	
Income during the year.....	1,575.00	\$1,738.41

Salisbury Legacy Fund.

Principal.....		\$209,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$455.87	
Income during the year.....	9,427.50	
	\$9,883.37	
Expenditure.....	8,717.52	\$1,165.85

Tenney Fund.

Principal.....		\$5,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$25.00	
Income during the year.....	225.00	
	\$250.00	
Expenditure.....	236.94	\$13.06

Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Principal.....		\$1,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 5.00	
Income during the year.....	45.00	
	\$50.00	
Expenditure.....	46.47	\$3.53

Frances W. Haven Fund.

Principal.....		\$2,000.00
Income.....		\$15.00

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1909, have been examined by W. Thane Boyden, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct and properly vouched is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,
HENRY A. MARSH.

Auditors.

October 1, 1909.

WORCESTER, MASS., Oct. 1, 1909.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1909, and find same to be correct and properly vouched.

W. THANE BOYDEN,

Accountant.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

In this, my first annual report to the Society, I had intended to describe some of the special collections of the library and to trace the growth of the collection from its establishment in 1812 to the present day. But since these matters are fully treated in the *Handbook of Information* regarding the Society, to be soon distributed, this report will be confined to a relation of the progress of the year.

The guiding spirit in the acquirement of additions to the library has been that of specialization. To strengthen those departments of the library which are already strong, to obtain material for which the Society is a proper custodian and to reject that which does not come within our scope—are all parts of this program.

Two years ago, several members of the Society, prominent in library matters, were requested by the President to give a formal expression of their opinion as to the proper scope of the library of the Antiquarian Society and the lines of its future development. Among the reports then submitted, that written by Mr. George Parker Winship was so comprehensive and convincing and expresses so clearly my own views regarding the library, that I herewith reproduce it as part of my report. Under date of October 30, 1907, Mr. Winship writes:—

“Without a clear understanding of what the function of the American Antiquarian Society is, it will be impossible to decide definitely regarding the proper development of the Society’s library, a development which should include the elimination of books now useless and never likely to be used in this library. As it seems to me, the object of our Society, in its library, is to accumulate and preserve, accessible to all qualified students, everything that can be of assistance to those

who study the history of America. Inasmuch as the library is situated in Worcester, where there are other libraries which are devoted specifically to the accumulation of local Worcester material, and to meeting the needs of general readers interested in current modern historical publications, there is no need for the Society to collect in either of these lines. The Society ought to devote its resources to improving its collections in departments which other libraries in Worcester, or possibly elsewhere within a day's trip, have not developed more thoroughly than this library can expect to do.

"The Society ought, first of all, to increase just as far as possible those departments in which it already has large and important collections, with the idea of making the collections in the American Antiquarian Society library pre-eminent above all competitors on certain clearly recognized subjects.

"Taking into consideration the history of the Society and of its library, this is clearly a proper place for large groups of books, many of which President Eliot has dubbed "dead books," which are almost never used by anyone—but which, when called for, are in most cases wanted by students of exceptional erudition, engaged in researches of real consequence into the regions beyond the limits of the usual academic range. It is peculiarly the province of an Antiquarian Society to be prepared to assist in the work of scholars of this character. The Society ought, therefore, to retain so far as it can do so its reputation in the public mind as a dumping ground, if you will, of all the old trash of garrets and dead clergymen's effects. The expense of handling and sorting out such material is great, greater than most libraries are willing to assume on account of the small yield of books immediately useful; which is just why this Society should welcome it as a part of its duty, recognizing that the ultimate yield to its own resources and to scholarship much more than justifies the cost. Whenever possible, such gifts should be accepted with the clear understanding that the Society is to act as a clearing-house, retaining the privilege of disposing not only of duplicates but of any books which would obviously be more useful somewhere else.

"It is especially true in a library such as this that the contents or subject matter of a book as often as not constitute its least interesting aspect. The number of American publications, large and small, which it is inconceivable that anyone should ever wish to read, is very large. Most of these are, nevertheless, on account of the place where, or the person by whom printed, or from some peculiarity of the printing, likely to be of great value to future students of American printing. The debt of the Society to the first historian of printing in America—Isaiah Thomas—makes it especially desirable that in this

Society's library should be found the material for those who will, from time to time, rewrite that history, in whole or in parts.

"Closely allied to this subject is that of the art and craft of book-binding, and the library contains many invaluable examples of American bindings, oftentimes on books which are not otherwise important. Some of these earlier bindings are stiffened with sheets of other books, and these will in time need to be examined carefully in the hope of finding in them parts of some of the thousands of colonial publications which have apparently entirely disappeared.

"There is another large group of books which are interesting because of the marks of ownership which they contain. Besides these "Association books" which restore a sort of personal touch with the worthies or unworthies of other days, there are those which, because they go to show us what was virtually the entire library of some long ago forgotten clergyman, doctor or man of affairs, are of the utmost value as an exemplification of just what made up the intellectual stock in trade of typical characters in other generations. The books which contain the autograph of "Crescentius Matherus," now scattered over the building, are a striking illustration, but other libraries received in block are not less important, because they are more truly illustrative of a larger intellectual stratum.

"In fulfilling its duties to such varied possible interests of future students the Society will, perforce, find itself in possession of long shelves full of volumes seemingly worthless. It must not be forgotten, however, that the most worthless books usually have a story to tell to those who have stumbled upon the particular key to open the mystery. Various successive editions of theological treatises seem useless enough, and yet there is nothing that so convincingly reveals the amazing ability of colonial New Englanders to digest theological subtleties as the shelves full of these volumes, which would never have been printed if there had not been money to be made by selling them—except where this deduction is controverted by the equally interesting fact, which could only have been discovered by comparing the actual volumes side by side, that successive editions are evidence of the fact that the books did not sell, and that the printer tried to get his money back by inserting an up-to-date title-page in front of the old sheets of text.

"If I seem to have argued against disposing of most of the books now in the library, it is because my own experience has led me to feel more and more certain that there is no possible way of guessing what unheard of thing the next person who comes into the library will want, if the library is one with a

reputation, such as I believe the American Antiquarian Society should strive to acquire, for possessing unheard-of resources.

"The books which the Society's library does not need are primarily those which are to be had elsewhere. Any book, and certainly a book not related to at least a shelf full of other books, which can be gotten in half an hour or, thanks to the telephone, in half a day, is not, other things being equal, worth the space which it would fill on the library shelves. There are certain large classes, which no one, not intimately familiar with the library, would expect to find in an Antiquarian Society library. European literature, unless like Rabelais and Chateaubriand it shows how America influenced Europe; English county history, not of American genealogical interest; the biographies of Europeans who had no known influence upon American events, should properly be looked for in a public library, where will also be preserved most of the publications of recent years, including periodicals, which have enjoyed any popular vogue. The Society might properly preserve any books, perhaps even novels, that no one ever heard of, but why it should fill its shelves with the things that are carefully kept in every library one-fiftieth its size, is not obvious. The Society's library ought not to be a library for readers, in my opinion. It should be a place for special investigators, however broad or minute their field of study, who will be familiar with all the special treatises on their particular subjects, and who are seeking an opportunity to examine, through the Society's foresight, those things which the public that patronizes most other libraries has no interest in. The Society's library should contain everything that it can possess itself of, that other libraries do not preserve. It should have this material so arranged and catalogued as to anticipate as far as possible the needs of investigators who visit or write to the library. If this policy were adopted it would require that the Society should deliberately plan to develop a staff of specially trained attendants, familiar with its resources, accustomed to the by-paths of scholarly interests, and prepared at any time to place their own special qualifications and information at the service of American scholarship. It is my opinion, that only by so doing can the Society regain its position as an important factor in the American historical world."

I entered upon the position of Librarian of the Society in January, 1909. During the preceeding three months, however, I attended the meetings of the Library Committee and spent part of each week in Worcester. This report, therefore, covers the year from October, 1908 to October,

1909. In this period the accessions to the library have been unusually large. Expressed in figures they total 2844 volumes, 4721 pamphlets, 8600 early issues of newspapers and 73 miscellaneous objects such as maps, broadsides and portraits. Of this total, 1903 volumes and 2048 pamphlets were received by purchase, and 901 volumes and 2668 pamphlets by gift. A list of the donors is appended to this report.

Since the Society's foundation, one of its most valuable possessions has been its collection of the early productions of the American press. Hence the effort should be made to strengthen this department at every opportunity, and the plan of collecting should be sufficiently comprehensive to include *everything* printed in the country before a certain date. Just what this date should be is a matter for arbitrary decision. It would be inadvisable to attempt to gather the entire output of the press for the last half century. Not only would such a task be impracticable, but the very purpose and usefulness of the collection, as one of service for a study of the beginnings of the American press, would be disregarded. It is more desirable to strengthen our collection for a certain period, than to expend our energies in the attempt to cover too large a field. For the present, therefore, the year 1820 has been chosen as our inclusive date. The reasons for this choice are threefold. The year 1820 covers the establishment of printing-presses in most of the older towns, it includes the mass of printed material bearing upon the Jeffersonian era, the War of 1812 and the ensuing period of national reorganization, and finally, it is the closing date of Evans' great *American Bibliography* listing all American imprints and already published through the year 1778.

The amassing of such a collection means the expenditure of funds as well as of no small amount of energy and research. But the task is not unsurmountable. How large is the number of American imprints issued before 1820? An estimate based on bibliographies and book-lists already published would show that the total output of the United States press to the year 1820 would number about 75,000

titles. In its century of growth, the library has acquired a fair share of this vast number, and a systematic attempt to enlarge the collection would have decided results.

The growth of the library in this particular direction during the past year gives promise for the future. Exactly 1496 American imprints, dating from late in the seventeenth century to the year 1820, have been obtained through various channels.¹ Although the great part of this material could not in any way be listed under the head of "rarities," yet there are several titles which are worthy of mention even in a brief report. There are many of the productions of the early eighteenth century Boston press, such as Thacher's *Unbelief Detected*, 1708, Nicholas Culpeper's *Pharmacopæia Londinensis*, 1720, and the *Confession of Faith*, 1723. Our notable Mather collection has received at least one addition, Cotton Mather's *Virtue in its Verdure*, Boston, 1725. A few other interesting titles are the first *New Jersey Bible*, Trenton, 1791, Langdon's *Excellency of the Word*, Portsmouth, 1756, the *New England Primer*, Providence, 1782, and Benezet's *Historical Account of Guinea*, Philadelphia, 1771, and a hitherto unrecorded tract entitled, a *Guide to Heaven*, printed at Boston in 1713. From the Penny-packer sale in Philadelphia in December, 1908, about 200 early Pennsylvania imprints were secured, and from a New York auction sale there were obtained a large number of Maryland and Virginia imprints. The negotiations now under way for the purchase of a notable collection of Pennsylvania imprints, the fruits of twenty years of research on the part of a Philadelphia collector, bid fair to make a large addition to the library in the near future.

I look forward to the time when so large a proportion of the reproductions of the early American press will be represented on our shelves that the collecting of the future will be devoted only to the search for rarities. No other library in the country covers exactly the same field or attempts to collect so comprehensively. The many requests which we receive for the privilege of examining or copying scarce

¹ In this total the early almanacs, about 400 in number, are not included, nor are the newspapers and broadsides.

publications show how much this work is appreciated. When all the material is arranged in the new library according to a subject classification, it will be much more accessible and useful. The value of such a collection for the student of early American history, literature, law, commerce, medicine, theology, education and science, as well as of early printing, cannot be overestimated.

A collection closely allied with that of American imprints is that of American almanacs. In the infancy of our printing these little publications vied with religious treatises as the most popular productions of the period. Whenever a printer invaded a sparsely settled neighborhood and established his press, his first publications were invariably the almanac and the newspaper. The almanacs, therefore, are of much interest to the student of local imprints. In addition to the value of their astronomical information, they are also useful to the historian for the statistics as to courts and legislatures and especially for their tables of travelled roads and highways.

Although published in large quantity—of one issue, that for the year 1797, Isaiah Thomas says that he printed 29,000 copies—comparatively few have survived the ravages of time. Their very name suggests the word ephemeral, and it requires much searching to complete a set. Before the year 1800 the number of almanacs published in the country amounted to about 2000 titles. Between 1800 and 1850 there were perhaps 5000 more. Of this great number we are still far from having a comprehensive collection, but have made considerable headway during the past year. Exactly 1272 almanacs have been acquired in the past twelve months through gifts, exchange and purchase, about five-sixths of them dating before 1850. Among the more important lots obtained were Davis's Almanac, Boston, 1758, Mills & Hicks's Register for 1775, a nearly complete set of Rhode Island issues from 1763 to 1799, long runs of Poor Will's, Bioren's, Carleton's, Leavitt's, Beckwith's and Webster's Almanacs, a large collection of early Maine issues, a number of Pennsylvania items from the Penny-packer sale, and about 200 of the German imprints of Penn-

sylvania and Maryland. In addition to the number of almanacs noted above, there have been placed in the library 274 early nineteenth century Mexican almanacs—the *Calendarios* of Cumplido, Ontiveros, Galvan and other Mexican almanac makers. If we could have the good fortune during the coming two years to witness an equal growth in our almanac collection, we should then be in a position where we should have to look only for the rarer issues.

There are other special collections in the library which have experienced some increase. The collection of early school books, which is perhaps the largest in the country and is surely the object of considerable inquiry, has received an addition of 314 volumes, many of which were obtained at the Pennypacker sale last year. Several gaps have been filled in the collection of colonial laws. Among these accessions should be mentioned the Vermont Laws of 1798, the Rhode Island Acts and Laws of 1767, the New Jersey Acts and Laws of 1776, the New Jersey Grants and Concessions of 1752, and the Virginia Acts of 1759, 1769 and 1785. Our collection of American Annuals has been increased by 76 volumes and a large number of early 19th century magazines have been added to our already large collection of American periodicals.

Nearly all of the foregoing books, excepting the few presented or received through exchange, have been purchased out of the general book funds. Of the books obtained from the income of special funds, the largest additions have been made to the Davis collection of Spanish-Americana. Chiefly through the aid of Miss Alice W. Kurtz, who has purchased many books for us in Mexico, we have obtained some exceedingly rare volumes on nearly Mexican dialects. Among the more noteworthy titles are to be noted the following:—

Molina, *Vocabulario en la Lengua Castellana y Mexicana*, Mexico, 1555.

Lorra Baquio, *Manual Mexicano*, Mexico, 1634.

Carochi, *Arte de la Lengua Mexicana*, Mexico, 1645.

Palafox y Mendoza, *Vida Interior*, Brussels, 1682.

Florencia, *La Estrella de el Norte de Mexico*, Mexico, 1688.

Avila, *Arte de la Lengua Mexicana*, Mexico, 1717.

Gastelu, *Arte de Lengua Mexicana*. Puebla, 1726.
Serra, *Manual de administrar los Sacramentos*, Mexico, 1731.
Aguirre, *Doctrina, Christiana en lengua Opata*, Mexico, 1765.
Moreno, *Vida del Vasco de Quiroga*, Mexico, 1766.

Our collection of bibliographical aids for the study of Spanish-Americana was rather scanty. An excellent beginning of such a collection has been made by the purchase of the following books:—

Andrade, *Ensayo Bibliografico Mexicano del Siglo XVII*, 1899.
Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana Septentrional*, 3 vols., 1883.
Icazbalceta, *Bibliografia Mexicana del Siglo XVI*, 1886.
Leclerc, *Biblioteca Americana*, 1878.
Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, 7 vols., 1898-1907.
Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena, 3 vols., 1897-1899.
La Imprenta en Guadalajara, 1904.
La Imprenta en La Habana, 1904.
La Imprenta en Merida de Yucatan, 1904.
La Imprenta en Oaxaca, 1904.
La Imprenta en Veracruz, 1904.

The other special book funds have been used to purchase volumes relating to their respective subjects. With the income of the John and Eliza Davis fund a large amount of material has been obtained relating to the Civil War. Our collection of regimental histories is a large one and we take every opportunity to increase it. The Francis H. Dewey fund has been used for the purchase of legal books, and several rare volumes have been acquired from the income of the Haven fund. The Lincoln Legacy fund, according to the modification of its provisions in 1907, has been devoted to the increase of the library.

The collections of local history and genealogy have received many additions, but since the Local History fund yields but \$45.00 a year and the Genealogical fund but \$25.00, the increase in this direction will not be worthy of extended comment.

One of the pleasant happenings of the year was the receipt of a letter from Prof. Franklin B. Dexter of New Haven enclosing his check of \$100.00 to be used for filling the gaps in our collection of bibliographical material. Dr.

Dexter's own labors along bibliographical lines have made him sympathize with the helplessness felt by those who are without necessary books of reference, and for his assistance in this regard the Society owes him a debt of gratitude. With this gift, the following volumes have been purchased, filling many important gaps:—

- American Book Prices Current, 1896-1905, 10 vols.
- Ford, P. L., Check List of Bibliographies, 1889.
- Ford, P. L., Franklin Bibliography, 1889.
- Goss, E. H., Bibliography of Melrose, Mass., 1889.
- Griffin, Grace, Writings on American History, 1906, 1908.
- Hall, F. P., Newark, N. J., Imprints, 1776-1900, 1902.
- Harrisse, H., Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle France, 1545-1700, 1872.
- Hart, Chas. H., Engraved Portraits of Washington, 1904.
- King, Wm. L., The Newspaper Press of Charleston, S. C., 1872.
- Lawson, W. T., Literature of the Mexican War, 1882.
- Leclerc, Ch., Biblioteca Americana, 1878.
- MacLean, J. P., Bibliography of Shaker literature, 1905.
- Martin, Wm., Catalogue d'Ouvrages relatifs aux Iles Hawaii, 1867.
- Miner, W. H., Bibliography of Daniel Boone, 1901.
- Shea, J. B., Bibliographical Account of Catholic Bibles, 1859.
- Smith, Wm. H., Jr., A Priced Lincoln Bibliography, 1906.
- Tompkins, H. B., Burr Bibliography, 1892.
- Weeks, S. B., Press of North Carolina, 1891.
- Woodbury, C. J. H., Bibliography of Cotton Manufacture, 1909.

In addition to the above list, a large number of priced auction catalogues were obtained. The value of these catalogues, especially where the price and the disposition of copies are noted, is considerable. It can be illustrated by a case in point. Dr. Samuel A. Green, in his comprehensive "Bibliographical List" of books printed by John Foster, only recently published, notes an Almanac of 1676 the title of which was taken from the Brinley Catalogue and the location of which was unknown. In our copy of the Brinley Catalogue is pencilled on the margin the statement that this copy went to the Watkinson Library. Unfortunately our annotated Catalogue was not obtained until after

the publication of Dr. Green's volume, otherwise we might have furnished the information.

Since our collection of American newspapers is one of the strongest in the country, and is also the object of frequent consultation, considerable correspondence has been entered into for the purpose of obtaining files and every sale catalogue has been checked for lacking issues. The accessions for the year have been large, totalling 165 bound volumes and 8600 numbers. These papers all date before 1870, beyond which year we do not seek to obtain files unless in long runs or of important journals. Since 1870 we have many of the well known papers in bound files, and preserve and bind currently about two dozen journals selected from various sections of the country.

Of the unusually large number of papers which have been received during the year, nearly half have been obtained from the Library of Congress on exchange account. Several important files have been purchased at auction, and from dealers all the way from Portland to Charleston we have secured material to add to our collection. Among the longer files obtained have been the following:—*Pennsylvania Packet and General Advertiser*, 1771-1773; *Washington Globe*, 1832-1863; *Washington Star*, 1853-1865; *Independent Gazeteer*, 1785-1787; *Pennsylvania Herald*, 1785-1786; *Porcupine's Gazette*, 1798-1800; *Norfolk Herald*, 1795-1798; *New Hampshire Patriot*, 1809-1829; *True Flag*, 1852-1886; *San Francisco Herald*, 1851-1861; *New Haven Columbian Register*, 1831-1834; *Florida Herald*, 1838-1842; *Arkansas Gazette*, 1820-1849. This list, although containing but a few selections from the accession book, is especially instructive in showing the comprehensive scope of the acquisitions.

The accessions to the manuscript department have not been numerous. Among the few gifts may be noted a collection of the legal papers of Abraham Foster of Ashburnham, Mass., from Joseph F. Daniels of Fort Collins, Colo.; two volumes of a manuscript genealogy of the Goddard family from Lucius P. Goddard of Worcester; some interest-

ing letters on the Battle of Bunker Hill from James P. Paine of Worcester; and a list of marriages performed by Benjamin Colman in 1702.

The excellent work now being done in the cataloguing and calendaring of our manuscripts is rapidly making accessible this valuable portion of our library. The descriptive account of the collection recently prepared for the *Handbook of Information* reveals, almost for the first time, what an exceedingly large and important body of material we possess. In the new building we shall have an especially equipped manuscript room, with commodious and secure quarters for the preservation of rare documents. We shall then be in position to invite gifts of manuscript material and to suggest the consideration of this Society as a proper place of deposit for important family papers.

The limits of a brief report have already been exceeded by the account of the accessions of the year. Suggestions regarding future work and conjectures as to future plans are excluded. It is sufficient to state that the coming year will doubtless be the busiest in the history of the Society. The problem of moving into the new building is a serious one. The present system of classification, a "fixed" system, with an arbitrary reference to alcove and shelf, will be useless when the books are arranged in the new stack. The time is opportune for the installation of an expansive system of classification which will admit of rearrangement for all time. To adopt any of the well-known systems now in use would be inadvisable since the library is so largely made up of books of a certain class, whereas these systems are devised for collections of a general character. As I glance around at the shelves of this great storehouse of history, I can only remember the words of Samuel Foster Haven, written for his Report of October, 1850: "There are no problems in art or science that have been found more perplexing in practice, or more incapable of a satisfactory theoretical solution, than the arrangement of libraries and the preparation of catalogues. Men have become insane in their efforts to reduce these labors to a system."

The number of assistants in the library has remained the same as the preceding year, although it will be necessary to provide for some additional force when the time arrives for moving into the new building. I cannot let the occasion of this report pass without expressing my gratitude to those who have assisted me in the library during the year for their cordial coöperation and for their aid, always willingly given. Especially do I wish to record my indebtedness to Mr. Barton, whose thorough acquaintance with local affairs and familiarity with the history and traditions of the Society has been constantly at my disposal. With the various working committees of the Society my relations could not have been more harmonious. Such a spirit of coöperation and the assurance of increased funds can only cause us to look forward to the future with confidence and with pride.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,

Librarian.

Givers.

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 Mallalieu, Willard F.
 Marble, Mrs. Charles F.
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 Munk, Joseph A.
 New York Evening Post & Printing
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 Scribner, Charles Sons.
 Sentinel Printing Co., Fitchburg.
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 Spooner, Mrs. Jennie C.
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 Wire, George E.
 Worcester Gazette Co.

SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

Abbot Academy.
Academie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique.
Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.
Academy of Science of St. Louis.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
American Association for International Conciliation
American Baptist Missionary Union.
American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.
American Geographical Society.
American Historical Association.
American-Irish Historical Society.
American Oriental Society.
American Philosophical Society.
American Seamen's Friend Society.
American Statistical Association.
Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts.
Ancient Free and Accepted Masons Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.
Andover Theological Seminary.
Architectural and Topographical Society, London.
Associated Publishers of American Records.
Australia, Registrar General of Western Australia.
Australian Museum.
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.
Boston Board of Health.
Boston Cemetery Department.
Boston City Hospital.
Boston City Messenger Department.
Boston City Registry Department.
Boston Port and Seamen's Aid Society.
Boston Public Library.
Boston Transit Commission.
Boston University.
Bostonian Society.
Bowdoin College.
Brockton Public Library.
Brookline Public Library.
Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences
Brooklyn Public Library.
Brown University.
Buffalo Historical Society.
Buffalo Public Library.
Bunker Hill Monument Association.
California State Library.
California State Treasurer.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society

Cambridge Historical Society.
Canada, Department of Mines.
Canadian Institute.
Carnegie Institution of Washington.
Chicago Historical Society.
Children's Hospital, Boston.
Cincinnati Public Library.
Clark University Library.
Colgate University.
Colorado College.
Colorado State Agricultural College, Fort Collins.
Columbia University.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Connecticut Historical Society.
Connecticut State Library.
Cornell University.
Davenport Academy of Sciences.
Detroit Public Library.
Directors of the Old South Work, Boston.
Dorchester Historical Society.
Essex Institute.
Fairmount Park Art Association.
Field Museum of Natural History.
Fitchburg, City of.
Fitchburg Historical Society.
Fitchburg Public Library.
Forbes Library.
Free Museum of Science and Art, Philadelphia.
Geographical Society of Philadelphia.
Geological Survey of Canada.
Groton Public Library.
Hartford Theological Seminary.
Harvard College Class of 1868.
Harvard University.
Haverhill Public Library.
Hawaii Promotion Committee.
Helena Public Library.
Highland Military Academy, Worcester.
Hispanic Society of America.
Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.
Historical Department of Iowa.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
Historischer Verein der Oberpfalz und Regensburg.
Illinois Association Opposed to Extension of Suffrage to Women.
Illinois State Historical Society.
Instituto Medico Nacional, Mexico.

International Bureau of American Republics.
Jersey City Free Public Library.
John Crerar Library.
Johns Hopkins University.
Lake Mohonk Conference.
Library Bureau.
Library Company of Philadelphia.
Library of Congress.
Litchfield County University Club.
Los Angeles Public Library.
Louisiana Historical Society.
McKinley Memorial in Philadelphia.
Maine Historical Society.
Maine State Library.
Maryland Historical Society.
Massachusetts, Commonwealth of.
Massachusetts General Hospital.
Massachusetts Historical Society.
Massachusetts Infant Asylum.
Massachusetts Medical Society.
Massachusetts School for the Feeble Minded.
Massachusetts State Normal School at Worcester.
Massachusetts Woman's Relief Corps.
Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board.
Mexico, Republic of.
Museo de la Plata.
Museo Nacional de México.
Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig.
Naturhistorische Gesellschaft in Nürnberg.
Newberry Library.
New England Historic Genealogical Society.
New England Society in City of New York.
New Hampshire State Library.
New Haven Colony Historical Society.
New Jersey Historical Society.
Newport Historical Society.
New York Academy of Sciences.
New York City Department of Education.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.
New York Public Library.
New York State Education Department.
New York State Hospital for Crippled and Deformed Children.
New York State Library.
New York State Stenographers' Association.
Nova Scotia Historical Society.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.

Oberlin College.
Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.
Old Bridgewater Historical Society.
Oregon Historical Society.
Peabody Institute of the City of Baltimore.
Pennsylvania History Club.
Pennsylvania Society.
Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind.
Portland (Maine) Board of Trade.
Pratt Institute Free Library.
Providence Public Library.
Radcliffe College.
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.
Rhode Island, Commissioner of Public Schools.
Rhode Island Historical Society.
Rhode Island Registration Bureau.
Rhode Island State Library.
Royal Historical Society of London.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.
Salem Public Library.
Smithsonian Institution.
Société d' Archéologie de Bruxelles.
Société de Géographie, Paris.
Société des Américanistes de Paris.
Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.
Société Portugaise de Sciences Naturelles.
Society of Antiquaries of London.
Society of Colonial Wars in District of Columbia.
South Carolina Historical Society.
Southern Historical Society.
Springfield City Library Association.
State Historical Society of Iowa.
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Stockholm, Royal Society.
Swedish Historical Society of America.
Syracuse Public Library.
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Washington University State Historical Society.
Wesleyan University.
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Worcester Board of Health.
Worcester Board of Trade.
Worcester, City of.
Worcester City Hospital.
Worcester County Musical Association.
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Worcester Polytechnic Institute.
Wyoming Commemorative Association.
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE

BY REV. AUSTIN S. GARVER.

New England may well be proud of her long roll of illustrious citizens, who by their rare gifts and lofty ideals, and costly service, take their place among the world's truly Representative Men." Their work has shaped our institutions, their influence is stamped on our culture and our laws, and the tone of our civilization,—what is best in its past and most hopeful in its future, is due to their natural leadership. Like Greece, New England is but a rocky corner of the earth, and like the Athenian state, is she in the number and renown of her famous sons. Their names and example shine from the page of our history, and constitute our most precious heritage from the past.

Of this great race of the world's leaders, and nature's noblemen, worthy of such rank by the greatness of his personality, and the beneficent, far-reaching power of his influence, was Edward Everett Hale. He was, himself, a connecting link with the heroic times that are gone; he received at first hand the traditions of the Revolution; and he lived in close association with the poets, patriots and philanthropists who represented the highest ideals and hopes of the nineteenth century. Thus related and inspired, it was but natural that he became the trumpet voice of the prophecy of the twentieth century.

His uneventful but, to himself, highly romantic career began in Boston on the morning of April 22, 1822. It was an atmosphere of plain living and high thinking into which he came, and in which he grew to manhood. Of the simplicity and dignity of that life he has left, in "A New England Boyhood," a record of unfading vividness and charm. He was one of those once-born souls who have no need of

a second birth. On both sides he came of distinguished stock, and he was true to type; Edward Everett, whose name was honored by his bearing it, was his uncle; the eminent patriot, Captain Nathan Hale was his great-uncle; both his grandfathers were ministers. His father was a man of scholarly tastes and active pursuits, the founder of railroads and Editor of the *Advertiser*; and his mother was a woman of gracious culture with a "genius for education." So all the elements that were mixed in him owed their distinction to public service, to love of letters, and to high ideals of religious and patriotic duty. The traditions and spirit of the home into which he was born, with its wholesome excitements, and natural religious sentiments, were the formative influences of his young life. It was here, under the stimulating sympathy of his father, and the "velvet touch" of his mother, where it was taken for granted that he would be interested in whatever was worthy of interest, that he received his real training.

Of formal education he had his share from his second year; but it was always hard for him to "keep on the rails," and after his first experience of its routine he detested school. He afterward praised his father's wisdom in sending him to school for four years to a simpleton. Still he made such good use of his opportunities, that at the age of thirteen he was ready to enter Harvard College from which he was graduated with honors four years later in the class of 1839. In literature and mathematics he found his chief delight; for the classic languages he had a strong aversion, yet for two years after his graduation he taught Latin and Greek in the Boston Latin School. During this period he pursued studies, more or less desultory, that were supposed to be a preparation for the ministry. It was still his good fortune to live in the charmed circle of the home, where men like Webster, Lowell, Story and Sumner, were familiar visitors, but he spent the most of his leisure time, and got the best part of his professional training in his father's office. He says of himself that he was cradled in the sheets of the *Boston Advertiser*. He was expert in all the details of newspaper work, and there was nothing

from the gathering of the news or putting it into type to writing leading articles, that he did not heartily enjoy doing; while the contact with the real world outside, which it gave him, was much more to his mind than learning Hebrew conjugations. Samuel Bowles remarked that they were spoiling the best newspaper man of the day down in Boston by trying to make a minister of him.

Then after a portion of a year more spent in similar theological studies, as assistant in the United States Geological survey of the White Mountains, he was in 1842 licensed to preach. He had no desire for immediate settlement, and went here and there as there was opportunity or call for his services, spending the exciting winter of 1844 and 1845, the Texan winter, in Washington. Returning home in wild excitement, he wrote and printed at his own charge his first pamphlet, entitled "Freedom in Texas." In it he advocated the plan of northern emigration, anticipating by nine years the adoption of a similar plan in Kansas. The pamphlet was not noticed or read, and the ardent enthusiast was turned back into the quieter channels of his life's work.

On April 29, 1846, he was settled over the newly-founded Church of the Unity in this city, where he remained for ten years, when he was called to the South Congregational Church in Boston, in whose service as minister and minister *Emeritus*, he passed the rest of his days.

Here in Worcester he found a congenial atmosphere and gathered about him a company of men and women whom he inspired with his own spirit. The city, its people and its interests were ever afterwards close to his heart. Here he formed some of his dearest and most lasting friendships. The young men were drawn to him; there are members of this Society present to-day who were his intimate associates and who cherish the memories of that early time among their most precious blessings.

The spirit which he brought to his new work was characteristic of his whole thought of himself and of his professional duty. He could not be shut in to a little circle of official routine, or content himself with a zeal expended

on important trifles. He wanted to take hold wherever there was need, and lift wherever there was a burden. It shows the bent of his nature that when he was asked to serve on the School Committee, he said he preferred to be an Overseer of the Poor; and such he was made. His democratic heart went out to those who were most in need of sympathy and help. The treatment of immigrants, of pauper and dependent children engaged his earnest attention, and recommendations then made by him were later embodied in state legislation. He sought to promote a better social life, and was influential in the formation of the Natural History Society and the Public Library.

It was during his residence here that he became connected with the American Antiquarian Society. Sixty-two years ago, October 23, 1847, this young, active Worcester minister was elected to membership. Throughout this long period the purposes of the Society commanded all that he had to give of faithful and punctual service. He was on the important Committee of Publication for nearly half a century, from 1849 to 1897. He was a member of the Council, either by election or by virtue of other office, almost as long, from 1852 to 1899. He performed the duties of Recording Secretary from 1854 to 1857. He was Vice-President, 1891 to 1905, President, 1906, and was again elected Vice-President in 1907, which office he held at his death. It is a record without a parallel in the history of the Society, less remarkable even for its length than for the variety and value of the service it represents. The work of the Society was eminently congenial to him; it appealed to and doubtless helped to develop one of his strongest inclinations, his love of historical study. Dr. Hale loved New England; its history and legends and customs were very dear to him. He was never happier than when in the company of the students and scholars who gathered at these meetings for the consideration of these and kindred topics. He possessed inexhaustible stores of information, and fascinating incident and anecdote, which he was ever pouring out in impromptu suggestion and remark touching the subjects under discussion.

Among the more elaborate papers contributed by him to the Proceedings of the Society, are the following:—

Memoir of Albert Gallatin	1849
Life of Sir Philip Lane (collections)	1860
Discovery in the Pacific	1871
Cosmogony of Dante and Columbus	1872
Early Maps in Munich	1873
Coronado's Discovery of the Seven Cities	1881
Memoir of Samuel Jennison	1901
Gosnold of Cuttyhunk	1902
George F. Hoar	1905

It is not possible to record in detail all that he did for the Society. The mere list of formal papers gives little idea of the character of the service he rendered through all the years of his membership. Besides his important labors in the Council and on the Committee of Publication, his presence at the meetings was in itself a contribution of the highest value.

Yet the work which Dr. Hale did for this Society, important as it was, and excellent in quality, was a slight indication of the scope and variety of his intellectual and literary activity. His powerful mind ranged with the sweep and flash of a searchlight over many fields. No human interest was alien to him. He cared little for the critical and philosophical aspects of thought, but to every phase of the Divine Comedy of human life he was keenly alive. His brain teemed with the suggestions that arose from his observations and studies. Composition was a joy to him, for his was the pen of a ready writer; and his style was but the limpid, unpremeditated flow of a stream from a brimming fountain. A man of prodigious industry, he could not have produced so much except for the fact that he could write under any circumstances, on railway trains and in waiting rooms as readily as in his library.

In his historical studies it was largely the human elements that attracted him; to body these forth as vividly as they pictured themselves in his mind was the task his genius set for him, and which he accomplished so well. To another

temperament the task would have presented itself differently, and would have been performed in another manner, but not more effectively. His method was essentially that of the artist, with an unerring vision for the salient and picturesque features of a subject. If it be said that he looked on history with the eye of the impressionist, it must also be said that he had the artist's sense of the values of light and shade. If in some respects he may be "exceeded by the height of happier men," where shall we find combined such power and directness and brilliance of representation? If the chief end of a book is to be read with pleasure, one need not be apologetic in regard to anything he wrote.

Moreover he had no illusions about himself in this respect. He was free from any touch of literary pretension, and quite disclaimed the title of author. With characteristic modesty he placed on the title page of the little volume containing his collected poems, this motto from Colonel Ingham's life: "If it were his duty to write verses he wrote verses; to fight slavery, he fought slavery; to write sermons, he wrote sermons; and he did one of these things with just as much alacrity as another." That, said Dr. Hale to a friend, he was willing to take for his epitaph.

Dr. Hale did not pretend to be an authority in the scholastic world; he was something better than that, he was the inspirer of noble and beautiful life. Some one has said that we do not ask for dogmas from our greatest men; we are content that quickening impulses should be imparted by them. In this respect Dr. Hale was incomparable. No other man has so touched the young life of America. His aim in writing was to kindle patriotism, and awaken the spirit of loyalty and service. Many of his books have had a wide popularity and exerted a profound influence; they made his name known and loved throughout the land. Notably is this the case with "Ten Times One," and that little masterpiece, "The Man without a Country." Phrases of his invention, like the Lend-a-Hand motto, have become sacred scripture to thousands of young and generous hearts.

In story, biography and history, in memoir and essay, in ballad and verse, in a legion of articles for magazine

and journal, he has left a production large enough and significant enough for a great reputation.

And yet so marvellous was his versatility, and his capacity, that this product, amazing as it is, represented but a part, and that not the most important part of his activity.

First of all and last of all he was a minister. That was the one title he was glad to wear. The ministry, as he conceived it, was a devotion to the common weal. Pre-eminently the friend of men and student of the things that make for their welfare, his predominant tastes and aims were social. He had a genius for sympathy which made it easy for him to get into friendly relations with all sorts and conditions of people. A prime article of his creed was "I believe in this life." He believed that this life could be made what it ought to be, if all worked together. Therefore he threw himself into every enterprise for human betterment with an ardor that knew no bounds. And so he was foremost in every good cause. There were few beneficent enterprises started during his life in which he did not lead or share. His capacity for work was unlimited; he was always ready for the next thing, and he never stopped for difficulties. One cannot think of his activity without amazement that one man could do and endure so much. It left its mark on his careworn face, but never impaired the freshness of his heart or hope.

Nor did he simply follow where others had prepared the way. It was an evidence of his extraordinary genius, that he anticipated more than one of the important movements of his time. Before he was out of College he saw the political importance of the Pacific ocean, and stated in 1848, that it was destined to be the theatre of the future history of the world. He advocated Civil Service Reform long before it was enacted in law. In his earliest publications he urged reforms in dealing with immigrants, in the care of homeless children, in the treatment of youthful delinquents, and the management of charities, which are modern to-day.

He was one of the foremost champions of international peace and brotherhood. Ten years before the first Hague Conference he insisted that the next step was the establish-

ment of a Supreme Court of the nations for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. By his undaunted advocacy of this plan, he did much to win support for it, and to cause its adoption. In this, as in other things, he was called visionary, but happily he lived long enough to see many of his prophetic visions coming true. In his sane and fertile brain germinated ideas which have grown into institutions.

There is not time to refer to his part in the Kansas Emigration, or to his labors in behalf of the Indian and the Negro, or to his devoted service for the soldier and the country during the Civil War. It is a story of almost incredible activity. Dr. Holmes called him the "Living dynamo." From youth to age his long life was an untiring, blessed ministry. And through it all he retained the hopefulness and the fresh enthusiasm of youth; the warmth of his sympathies was never chilled; however far he roamed on his knightly errands for God and man, he returned with an unchanged heart to the friendships and fellowships that were so dear to him. He was like one playing a part in a drama in which each day opened a new and wonderful scene. He declared that his daily life was one wild romance. He has left us the image of a busy, happy, efficient, triumphant life.

As we thus recall him, how clearly his personal traits stand out in our recollection—the massive frame, the tall, cloaked figure, the Jove-like head, the impetuous utterance, the deep tones of a voice made to sound over vast assemblies. We remember the magnanimity of mind, the rich vein of humor with its touch of drollery, the union of earnestness and playfulness in his disposition, the unlimited capacity for sympathy, and the unfailing geniality that made him so rare a companion.

Though living to a great age, he never lost the buoyancy, the hopefulness, the naïve enthusiasms of youth. He never grew old, because as Meredith says "he kept the young generations in hail." To the last he was full of the joy of life, ready for every new adventure, keeping step with, if not leading the very front ranks in the march of

progress. Never for a moment did he believe that the best things had happened. Without an elaborate philosophy of life, he ever maintained a brave and expectant attitude in face of all the confusion and need of the world. Reverent student of the past, he was in spirit the most modern of the moderns.

It is difficult indeed to sum up a career of such variety and interest and noble accomplishment, so that the minor elements shall keep their subordinate place, and the commanding traits appear in true proportion. No enumeration of the things he did can give us the full measure of the man. Back of his unusual natural gifts, and sleepless activities, and vast achievement, lay a few simple principles which were the sustaining and impelling forces of his life.

Chief of these was the unquestioning conviction that this is God's world and that we are his children. He believed this with all his strength. It was as natural for him to think of himself as a child of God, as it was to think of himself as a citizen of Boston. It was one of the beautiful facts of life to be accepted with joy.

Therefore, the call of the world which was ever sounding in his ears, came with a divine meaning, and in answer, he simply said—"Here am I, send me." He gave all he had without stint or measure or thought of self, and was glad to be used in establishing the divine order. We call that response consecration; he called it, in his objective way, doing the Father's business. Nothing could disturb this central trust or cloud its childlike simplicity. It gave him the sufficient interpretation of duty, and inspired the note of unfaltering cheer in his message. He could look out on the world, he could bow his mighty soul beneath its burdens, and share its sorrows, and not

bate one jot
Of heart or hope, but still bear up and steer
Right onward,

because he was sure every moment, that the Kingdom of God was at hand.

Given a soul like his, animate it with the "eternities we are sure of" as he called Faith, Hope and Love, and you

have a life like his with its serene centre, its dynamic power, its unfailing courage, and its infinite capacity for service.

We bring our tribute because he was our beloved friend and honored associate, because of his pure and world-wide fame, and most of all because of his immortal place in the highest rank of the world's heroes and benefactors,

Souls tempered with fire
Fervent and heroic and good
Helpers and friends of mankind.

To our affection and memory, he will always appear as the shining figure of

One who never turned back, but marched breast forward;
Never doubted clouds would break;
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph.
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

JOHN CONNOLLY,

A TORY OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY CLARENCE MONROE BURTON.

John Connolly was born at Wright's Ferry, York County, Pennsylvania. His mother, Susanna Howard, was married three times. Her first husband was James Patterson, an Indian trader, who lived in Conestoga Manor from 1717 until his death in 1735. There were five children born of this marriage, James, Susanna, Sarah, Rebecca and Thomas Patterson. In 1735 she married Thomas Ewing who had come from the north of Ireland about 1730 and who was then a widower. There were four sons born of this marriage, James Ewing, born August 3, 1736, a general in the Revolutionary War; John Ewing, Captain in the Sixth Company first battalion of York militia, probably killed in some engagement during the Revolution; and William and Samuel Ewing who died young. Thomas Ewing, the father, died in 1741 and his widow married John Connolly, an Irishman, who had been an officer in the British service. There was one son, John, born of this marriage, who studied medicine with Dr. Cadwalader Evans in Philadelphia. After a proper length of study in Philadelphia, young Connolly went to live with his uncle, George Croghan, the British Indian Agent, not far from Pittsburg.¹ Susanna Connolly, the mother, died in Lancaster in October, 1753, leaving considerable estate.

John Connolly says in his narrative that he was "bred to physic" the practice of which it was intended he should pursue.² He enlisted in the army and was sent to Martinico.³

¹ Notes and Queries (Egle) Vol. 2, No. 3, page 209.

² Narrative.

³ Martinique was captured by the British in January, 1762. There is a full account

He served in two campaigns against the Indians in 1762-4, and after the peace was obtained from the Indians he spent some time traveling among them through Canada, to learn their ways. After these exertions he settled down in the western part of Augusta County, Virginia.

In 1770 he was living in Pittsburg practicing his profession and was a man of some local importance. George Washington, then on a trip through the west inspecting the country, was very much entertained by conversation with Connolly and by the information obtained from him. The meeting made as deep an impression upon the latter, as he referred to it several times in his correspondence of later years. It is probable that Washington read Connolly's character for turbulency in the few hours of conversation he had with him at this time, though he speaks in appreciative language of him.

Under the date of November 22, 1770, Washington in his journal, writes that he was at Pittsburg and was invited to dine at Sample's with Dr. Connolly, "a nephew of Col. Croghan," a very sensible, intelligent man, "who has travelled over a good deal of the western country, both by land and water. He was familiar with the country about Fort Chartres and at Vincennes, and laid before Washington a plan to settle 100 or more families on the Swanee River to form a new government, to be bounded by the Ohio River on the north and west, the ridge that divides the Tennessee or Cherokee River south and west and a line to be run from the falls of the Ohio or above, so as to cross the Swanee River above the fork of it."

Washington uses the term "new government" in connection with this proposed settlement, but does not indicate whether it was to be a new colony or a new and independent government. It is probable that Connolly had this "new government" in contemplation when he obtained a tract of land now comprising a large part of the City of Louisville, Kentucky, and still later when he sought to separate that

from the *London Gazette* in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year and a map of the island in the same magazine for 1759. If Connolly was at Martinique in 1762 he was very young and it may have been before he studied medicine.

part of the country from the then new United States in 1788.⁴

In June 1774, Connolly and Campbell laid out this land into village lots and advertised it for sale.⁵

The same year (1770) he took up 300 acres of land on Charles Creek, Augusta County, Virginia. This land was in that disputed district claimed by both Pennsylvania and Virginia but finally settled as being within the boundaries of the former state. He was also, at a later date, the owner of lands adjoining Pittsburg. In a statement made by him in 1784, he says that he was an intimate friend of Washington before the Revolution. He was on familiar terms with Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, and in 1772, received from him a grant of 4000 acres of land in Fincastle County, Virginia, now a part of Louisville, Kentucky. Before 1773, he was a surgeon mate in the general hospital of British forces in America. We are not informed as to the minor military offices he held, but he was a Captain Commandant in the Virginia militia from December 16, 1773, and later held the office of Major Commandant to June 16, 1775.

It was during the first part of this period that Lord Dunmore concluded to settle the boundary line dispute with Pennsylvania by forcibly taking possession of Pittsburg, or Fort Pitt, and attaching it to the colony of Virginia.⁶

In 1771 the Colonial troops had been withdrawn from Pittsburg, and Fort Pitt was abandoned, so that in 1774 when Connolly, sent by Lord Dunmore, reached the place he was unopposed.⁷

Pennsylvania claimed that Pittsburg was in Westmorland County and that the County seat was at Hanna's Town.⁸

⁴ Washington's Journal, Ford Ed. Vol. 2, page 314. In one of his letters Connolly says that he is related to Croghan and to Alexander McKee but the degree of the relationship is not given.

⁵ Oddities of Colonial Legislation, page 346. Also Am. Arch. IV series, Vol. 1, page 278.

⁶ Bureau of Archives (Toronto) 1904, page 1144.

⁷ Frontier Forts 2, 124.

⁸ Westmorland County was organized in 1773 and this aroused Virginia to assert her claim to Pittsburg. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography. Vol. VII. 151.

On January 1, 1774, Connolly, as Captain Commandant of militia, issued a call for the militia of Augusta County to meet him at Pittsburg, on January 25th, for the purpose of organizing a new county to include Pittsburg.⁹

Arthur St. Clair, afterwards governor of the Northwestern Territory, who was then a Pennsylvania Magistrate, (Justice of the Peace and Clerk of Westmorland County) arrested Connolly on January 24th for disobeying the laws of Pennsylvania and confined him in jail at Hanna's Town for a few days.

Connolly soon persuaded the sheriff to permit him to go to Pittsburg and he was released upon his promise to return.¹⁰

A proclamation was issued to the people who were assembling at Connolly's call, telling them of the injustice and impropriety of it and that if the militia was, at this time, installed at Pittsburg, an Indian war would likely result. It is worthy of remark that this proclamation, being signed by William Lochry, Arthur St. Clair and others who took an active part in the defense of our liberties in the War of the Revolution, bears for its first signature, the name of Alexander McKee who was, during nearly the entire course of that conflict, one of the most bitter enemies that the new government had. He lived at Detroit and died at Chatham, near that place, January 14, 1799.¹¹

When Connolly was liberated he promised the sheriff to return. He kept his promise, but in an unlooked for manner. He went to Mr. Croghan's neighborhood, where he had lived before, and collected the militia to the number of about 80 persons and with them returned, using the militia as a body guard and defying arrest. He prevented the Court of Westmorland from holding sessions and usurped the entire government of Pennsylvania in and about Pittsburg.¹²

⁹ This Notice is printed in Colonial Record X, 141 and in St. Clair papers 1, 272.

¹⁰ Penn. Arch. IV, 484.

¹¹ Penn. Arch. IV, 479.

¹² Col. Rec. Pa. X, 141. Penn. Arch. IV, 476. The letter of instructions from Pennsylvania to St. Clair is printed in Col. Rec. X, 145. He directed St. Clair to arrest Connolly.

Information of these proceedings to establish a new county was conveyed to Governor John Penn, and a spirited correspondence took place between the two governors, Penn and Dunmore.

Dunmore demanded the immediate dismissal of St. Clair from his official position.¹³

To this demand Governor Penn replied "Mr. St., Clair is a gentleman who, for a long time, had the honor of serving his Majesty in the regulars with reputation, and in every station in life has preserved the character of a very honest, worthy man; and though perhaps I should not, without first expostulating with you on this subject, have directed him to take that step, yet you must excuse my not complying with your lordship's requisition of stripping him, on this occasion, of his office and livelihood, which you will allow me to think is not only unreasonable,—but somewhat dictatorial."¹⁴

The claims of Dunmore to this country were a part of the unjust assumptions of the government of Great Britain that brought on the War of the Revolution. It will not be necessary here to enter into the merits of the dispute, but a reference to the imperious language of the claimant, Dunmore, will suffice to show how it aggravated the people and incited them to begin the long contest for their liberties.

Dunmore admitted that the land once belonged to Pennsylvania, but asserted it was lost to that colony because she allowed the French to take possession of it, and that when Great Britain recaptured it, in the French-Indian War, the title was vested in the Crown, and that, as Virginia was a Crown Colony, the title passed to that colony rather than to Pennsylvania which was a proprietary government. Pennsylvania retorted that if the land once belonged to that colony it had never been lost to it, for Great Britain

¹³ Col. Rec. X, 156.

¹⁴ Colonial Record X, 162.

The first court held at Pittsburg under Virginia laws was on February 21, 1775. The justices of Augusta County were George Croghan, John Campbell, John Connolly, Dorsey Pentecost, Thomas Smallman and John Gibson.

Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography VII, 151.

had not carried on war against Pennsylvania, but against France. In any event Pennsylvania was willing to surrender a portion of the disputed territory contiguous to Pittsburg for the sake of peace. Dunmore in his reply said, "Your proposals, amounting in reality to nothing, could not possibly be complied with, and your resolution, with respect to Fort Pitt (the jurisdiction over which place I must tell you, at all events, will not be relinquished by this government, without his Majesty's orders) puts an entire stop to further treaty and makes me sincerely lament that you have put it out of my power to contribute to re-establish the peace and harmony of both colonies, and to evince my good intentions as well towards the one as the other."¹⁵

The reply of John Penn to Dunmore's letter was in a very conciliatory tone,—in that spirit which indicated that right must prevail in the end,—and still the writer asserted his claim to the usurped district. The letter is dated at Philadelphia June 28, 1774, and concludes as follows: "I have so many complaints of the behavior of Dr. Connolly that I am obliged to wish your lordship to make some inquiry into the conduct, which, if my information be true, is extremely oppressive and tyrannical with respect to our people; and what is still worse, there is great reason to fear his military operations may have a dangerous tendency to involve the colonies in a general Indian War. He seizes upon the property of the people without reserve and treats the persons of our magistrates with the utmost insolence and disrespect, and with menaces, not only of imprisoning them, but even pulling down their houses, and it is said he has sent out, or is to send out, parties against the Indians, with orders to destroy all they meet with, whether friend or foe. These matters may be exaggerated but I cannot doubt but that Mr. Connolly has afforded some grounds for these complaints, and although your lordship hath been pleased to claim the jurisdiction of Pittsburg, and the country thereabouts, I would fain hope that you would

¹⁵ Olden Time I—495. Colonial Record X, 188. Letter to James Tilghman and Andrew Allen, dated May 26, 1774.

not encourage Mr. Connolly in such exorbitances and outrages as are laid to his charge."¹⁶

At the same time Penn wrote to Arthur St. Clair urging him to prevent an Indian War, if possible, and to force the people to stand firm in resisting the savages. He called a meeting of the Assembly of Pennsylvania and wrote to Sir William Johnson, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, giving him information of the situation. Regarding Connolly he wrote as follows to St. Clair, "I have also written to Lord Dunmore complaining of Connolly's outrageous and tyrannical behavior at Pittsburg, and representing the dangerous tendency his military operations may have to involve the colonies in a general Indian War."¹⁷

St. Clair, with George Croghan, Devereaux Smith, Aeneas McKay and Richard Butler raised a company of one hundred men to resist the Indians. At the same time (June 26) it was reported that Connolly had sent two parties down the Ohio River who met some of the Indians, fired on them and wounded one.

A number of inhabitants of Pittsburg petitioned Governor Penn to give them some assistance so that they might be relieved of Connolly and his adherents. He was pulling down the houses, imprisoning and generally maltreating all those who would not acquiesce in his method of government.¹⁸ Upon the assembling of the militia and the arrest of Connolly by St. Clair, the other officers who had been appointed by Dunmore organized the new county, with Pittsburg as its judicial seat, and changed the name of Fort Pitt to Fort Dunmore. Connolly himself participated in the larger part of the matters as he was only temporarily in confinement.¹⁹ Further than the mob violence that occurred at this time from the too free distribution of

¹⁶ Olden Time 1-497. Colonial Record X, 193.

¹⁷ Olden Time 1-497. Colonial Record X, 194.

¹⁸ Olden Time 1-500. St. Clair papers 1-317.

¹⁹ The Provincial Council of Pennsylvania organized the county of Westmorland including Pittsburg, but provided that Hanna's Town should be the county seat, February 26, 1773. Old Westmorland, page 5. This act is entitled "An Act for erecting part of the county of Bedford into a separate county." Colonial Record X, 77.

whiskey, no open rupture took place, and the new government seemed likely to become established.

The memorial of the inhabitants of Pittsburg to John Penn was drawn up on June 25, 1774, and signed by some twenty-seven of the foremost citizens. The entire burden of their complaint was the action of Connolly in oppressing the citizens and driving them from their houses and fomenting disturbances with the Indians.²⁰

Attached to this memorial were some "remarks on the proceedings of Dr. Connolly" containing the following statement, "The distressed inhabitants of this place have just cause to charge their present calamity and dread of an Indian War entirely to the tyrannical and unprecedented conduct of Doctor Connolly, whose design, as we conceive, is to better his almost desperate circumstances upon the distress of the public, and the ruin of our fortunes." This was followed by a long list of insults to citizens and depredations committed by Connolly or by his orders.

A short time afterwards some of the same committee made another report in which they said, "Dr. Connolly continues to exercise his authority as usual. Our persons are daily insulted, our property forcibly taken, and even our lives threatened," and again new and additional instances are given to substantiate these charges. Lord Dartmouth was appealed to by Governor Penn. He investigated the matter and wrote to Lord Dunmore on September 8th to make proper changes to prevent Indian troubles and dissatisfaction of the people.²¹ Many of the people of Pittsburg refused to submit to the new order of things and were brought into daily conflict with the Connolly men. In the address already referred to, they were advised not to act hastily but to maintain the already established government. Many of the old residents, however, preferred the Virginia government to that of Pennsylvania and sided with Connolly. Croghan, who was an Indian agent of considerable importance, wrote to David Sample that he had long been convinced that Fort Pitt and its dependencies was without

²⁰ The Olden Time 1-500. St. Clair Papers 1-317.

²¹ Olden Time 1-502.

the limits of Pennsylvania, and his opinion had great weight on the occasion.²² There was a meeting of the Indians at Pittsburg on June 29, 1774, and an attempt made to pacify them. Captain White Eyes, an Indian chief, delivered a communication from the Delawares to George Croghan, John Connolly and Alexander McKee urging them to restrain the whites who were making assaults on the Indians all over the frontier and were killing them without provocation.²³ It seemed now that an Indian War would break out, for it was the evident intent of Virginia to harrass them to the point beyond endurance.²⁴ Depredations were committed by the whites, either under the leadership or under the encouragement of the Virginia authorities.

Michael Cresap, a Pennsylvanian, who was accused of murdering a number of the Indians, including a sister of the Mingo Chief Logan, she being the Indian wife of John Gibson, alleged that his authority was a proclamation issued by Connolly.²⁵

After these murders were committed, Connolly sent word to Cresap to refrain from more work of that nature, and the latter returned home in high dudgeon, declaring that what he had already done, was by Connolly's orders, and St. Clair reported that the Indian War which must ensue, was a part of the Virginia plan.²⁶

The Pennsylvania men were very eager to prevent any trouble with the Indians and sent agents to see them and assure them of the peaceful disposition of the Pennsylvania citizens and officials. Connolly, of course, heard of these advances and attempted to prevent their recurrence by

²² Penn. Arch. IV, 481.

²³ Am. Arch. IV Series, Vol. 1, page 545, and *Oddities of the Colonial Legislation*, page 343.

²⁴ Penn. Arch. IV, 495.

²⁵ This is confirmed by Zeisberger in his letter of May 28, 1774. *Dunmore's War*, page 10. Penn. Arch. IV, 499. There are many papers and documents on this subject collected by Thomas Jefferson and printed in the latest edition of his works.

²⁶ Penn. Arch. IV, 501. "The distressed inhabitants of this place (Pittsburg) have just cause to charge their present calamity and dread of an Indian War, entirely to the tyrannical and unprecedented conduct of Doctor John Connolly, whose design as we conceive, is to better his almost desperate circumstances upon the public and the ruin of our fortunes." Penn. Arch. IV, 528. See also *Mass. History Col.* 4th series, Vol. X, page 720.

ordering the people not to carry on a correspondence with the Indians.²⁷

The Quaker feeling of friendliness towards the Indians did not pervade the territory occupied by the Virginians. The constant encroachments on the Indian lands could have but one result. The Indians retaliated for every injury inflicted upon them and it was found necessary by Lord Dunmore to raise an army to invade the Ohio Country.

On the 10th of June 1774, Dunmore issued a circular directing the militia of the various counties to organize and hold themselves in readiness to proceed against the Indians.²⁸

A month later (July 12) General Andrew Lewis was directed to proceed at once to destroy the towns and magazines of the Indians and to distress them in every way.²⁹

This invasion resulted in what is known as the Dunmore War. There were two detachments of the army, one under Lord Dunmore and the other, General Andrew Lewis.³⁰

It is not certain that Connolly personally accompanied the army on its entry into the enemy's country. Dunmore, in his letter to Connolly of June 20, 1774, directed him to remain at Fort Dunmore, and to send William Crawford, with what men he could spare, to operate with Colonel Lewis "or to strike a blow himself if he thought he could do it with safety." He recommended the taking of as many Indians prisoners as possible, especially women and children. These he could hold as hostages for the future good behavior of the Indian tribes.

In conclusion he said, "and should you be so fortunate as to reduce those savages to sue for peace, I would not

²⁷ Penn. Arch. IV, 521. Connolly's proclamation is dated June 18, 1774. Brantz Mayer, the defender of the name of Michael Cresap against the charges of the Indian Chief Logan, has this to say regarding Connolly: "It is not a little singular, even if nothing more than a coincidence, that Lord Dunmore should have chosen the report of a menaced Indian War, and of a growing dispute with the Mother Country beyond the sea, to assert formidably the rights of Virginia, not only by issuing his proclamation, but by dispatching to the scene of action a man like John Connolly, who was well known not only for his bold, reckless, artful temper, but for his sagacity, his knowledge of the world and of Indian affairs, and his exceedingly lax morality." Logan and Cresap, a Discourse by Brantz Mayer, page 40.

²⁸ Dunmore's War 33.

²⁹ *Id.* 86.

³⁰ "Indians in North America," page 42. Sent into the Ohio.

grant it to them on any terms till they were effectually chastised for their insolence and then they trade with us only, for what they want."³¹

There are many references in other letters and documents to indicate that Connolly was with Dunmore on the expedition.

It is probable that Lord Dunmore had no other intention in this war than the suppression of the Indians to insure peace on the frontier. That he afterwards became a foe to those who were fighting for the liberties of the colonies, would not prove that he was deceitful in his efforts for peace at this time. He certainly hoped that the British control would continue in America and it is far easier to believe that he desired the continuance of friendly relations with the Indians with British control, than to expect unfriendly relations with the savages in the future.³² In his narrative Connolly says the result of the war was very satisfactory. Whether this is a fact or not is problematical for the general opinion was that the war might have been averted, and if it had been, a different feeling would have existed between the Indians and frontiersmen and some of the massacres that took place during the Revolution would have been avoided. Actual warfare terminated with the battle of Point Pleasant, which took place October 10, 1774. The battle lasted all day, and the Indians withdrew towards night. Dunmore's detachment did not participate in the battle.

The Indians, after the affray, went to meet Dunmore and at once offered to enter into a treaty with him.³³

When they were about to enter into a council preparatory to making a treaty, Dunmore noticed that the Mingo deputies who had solicited peace had suddenly left camp. He sent John Gibson, a trader, to bring in Logan, a Mingo chief,

³¹ Penn. Arch. IV, 522.

³² Even as late as July 22nd, St. Clair thought that an Indian war could be avoided. He wrote to Connolly at that date, "I have uniformly declared that I saw not the least probability of war, unless the Virginians forced it on. The different manoeuvres, up and down and across the river have now probably brought that event about; who may see the end of it, God only knows." St. Clair Papers 1-328.

³³ Dunmore's War, 386.

to take part in the deliberations. Logan refused to come, saying that he was a warrior, not a councillor. Upon further urging he gave Gibson the speech that has been deemed an Indian Classic.³⁴

Some writer of more recent times has condensed the elegant speech into a couplet that runs,

“I appeal to the white man, ungrateful, to say,
If he e’er from my cabin went hungry away?
If naked and cold unto Logan he came,
And he gave him no blanket, and kindled no flame?”

But the original declamation contained an eloquence which only comes from contact with nature. It will be remembered that Logan did not espouse the cause of his countrymen and take up arms with them against the whites, until his own family had been murdered.

“I appeal to any white man to say if he ever entered Logan’s cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if he ever came cold and naked and he clothed him not.

“During the course of the last, long, bloody war, Logan remained in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was his love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as they passed and said, ‘Logan is the friend of the white man.’ I had even thought to live with you, but for the injuries of one man, Col. Cresap, who the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relatives of Logan; not even sparing my women and children.³⁵

“There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I

³⁴ In his narrative Connolly says that Dunmore commanded, in person, the soldiers in battle. No other account of that affair gives this version. He also states, in an indirect manner, that he, Connolly, participated in the battle.

St. Clair refers to the Dunmore War as “The War betwixt the Indians and Virginians is at last over.” “The Mingoes that live upon Scioto did not appear to treat and a party was sent to destroy their towns, which was effected, and there were twelve of them now prisoners in Fort Pitt.” Thus St. Clair considered the entire transaction as a matter in which Virginia was interested and in which Pennsylvania took no part. St. Clair papers 1-347.

³⁵ Heekenvelder vouches for the authenticity of this speech. Mem. of Historical Society of Pennsylvania XII.-112. Jefferson notes, Edition 1800, page 67.

have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is a joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one."

The treaty entered into by Lord Dunmore and the Indians was very generous towards the latter. The most onerous obligation was that they should deliver hostages to insure their future good behavior. They were also to meet Dunmore in Pittsburg in the following year to conclude a permanent treaty.³⁶

The troubles between America and England that had been increasing rapidly for some time were not unknown to Dunmore's army. The leader in that army was upon the British side. It is stated that when the men reached the mouth of the Hoekhocking River, on their homeward march, a meeting of the soldiers was held at which it was resolved to exert "every power within us for the defense of American liberty and for the support of our just rights and privileges."³⁷

Surrounded by such an array of patriotic Americans, Connolly very clearly comprehended that his usefulness in Pittsburg was likely to soon terminate. He made up his mind to stand by the established government, and undertook to organize the people of that place in the British interest but was unsuccessful, though he engaged a large body of his friends to support the constituted authorities. He called his friends together and in the course of their debates predicted the demand of the colonies for independence. Connolly, in his narrative, says that he was a friend of Washington. It is certain that they had met before and that Washington was well enough acquainted with him to consider him a dangerous man. Connolly was in Winchester, Penn., and wrote to Washington, February, 9, 1775, stating that he was going to Williamsburg but that

³⁶ Dunmore's War, page 386.

³⁷ "Winning of the West," 1, 239.

his presence in Pittsburg was necessary. The situation of the public affairs would, he stated, prevent Dunmore from meeting the Indians in Pittsburg as he had agreed, and he asked Washington for advice and what he was to do with the Mingo Indian prisoners he had.³⁸

Washington's reply dated February 25th advised him to follow Lord Dunmore's instructions regarding the Indians, but to keep them in good humor. Regarding the general situation of the country he said, "The state of affairs is sufficiently alarming; which our critical situation, with regard to the Indians, does not diminish." "With us here, things wear a disagreeable aspect and the minds of men are exceedingly disturbed at the measures of the British government. The King's speech and address to both Houses, prognosticates nothing favorable to us."³⁹

The news of the outbreak of hostilities in Massachusetts was received in Pittsburg in May, 1775. A Public meeting was called on the 10th of the same month to endorse the action of the Massachusetts men. At this meeting a committee of twenty-eight was chosen, of which George Croghan was chairman, to adopt proper resolutions of approval of the action of the New Englanders.⁴⁰ Samuel Sample, the father-in-law of Connolly, was one of the members of this committee.

Connolly remained but a short time in Pittsburg after this event. Virginia and Pennsylvania might quarrel about boundary lines and political control of the country, but the people were pretty well united on one subject, and that was the defense of their liberties.

After the news was received of the battle of Bunker Hill, the "flames of rebellion began openly to blaze." Connolly wrote to Lord Dunmore for instructions and found that the latter had been forced to leave his government. Before

³⁸ Am. Archives Series 4, Vol. 1, page 1222. There were twelve Indian prisoners. Revolution in Upper Ohio, page 18. Fort Dunmore was left in charge of Major Connolly with a garrison of 75 men. There were twelve Mingo prisoners or hostages in the Fort. Dunmore took the Shawnee prisoner with him to Williamsburg. Revolution in Upper Ohio, page 18.

³⁹ Narrative, page 5.

⁴⁰ Old Westmorland 13. Sample was a tavern keeper in Pittsburg. The resolutions of the Committee are given in Craig's History of Pittsburg, page 128.

leaving he directed Connolly to disband the troops returned from the Indian Country and try to induce the Indians to join the cause of Great Britain. The Indians had previously been called to meet in council in Pittsburg, and Virginia sent delegates to impress upon them the justice of the colonists in their quarrel with the King. Connolly says in his narrative that owing to his superior knowledge of the Indian manners and tempers he was successful in retaining the friendship of the natives to his cause. The council at Pittsburg lasted a fortnight and then the Indians dispersed fully satisfied that justice would be done them at a general treaty soon to be held.⁴¹

Connolly's troops being disbanded, he called his friends together, and after sounding them privately to ascertain who were likely to remain steadfast, a compact was entered into by which they agreed to assist him in restoring constitutional government, if he could obtain the necessary authority to raise men. He now prepared to leave Pittsburg to seek Dunmore who had been driven from the land and had taken refuge on a vessel in the harbor at Norfolk.⁴²

Connolly now prepared to leave the country, but two nights before his intended departure in June 1775, he was arrested at night at the instance of St. Clair and compelled to ride all night, reaching Ligonier the next morning. His captors were preparing to proceed with him to Philadelphia when he was rescued or set at liberty through the influence of a party of friends who had learned of his abduction and hastily followed him from Pittsburg.⁴³

Upon being liberated he returned to Pittsburg, and in a few days (July 20, 1775) set out for Winchester, taking with him the treaty he had entered into with the Indians. He pretended that the journey he was making was in the settlement of the Indian troubles, until he was gone so far from Pittsburg that there would be little danger of his being

⁴¹ Revolution on the Upper Ohio, page 36.

⁴² Dunmore went on board a man-of-war at York, June 11, 1775. He dismissed his Indian hostages and told them to make the best of their way back to their own country. *Am. Arch.* Series IV, Vol. 2, page 975. In the *Hist. Mass. Com. 14th Report* part 10, page 330 it is stated that Dunmore was on the Fowery.

⁴³ St. Clair papers, 1-357.

again arrested. He also gave out that he was to take some of the Indian Chiefs to England, and took several of them from Pittsburg with him when he left the place.⁴⁴ Lord Dunmore had sought safety on board the *Royal William*, and here Connolly visited him and remained fourteen days perfecting plans for future operations. It was arranged that he should go to Boston to discuss matters with General Gage, and he sailed for that place on the tender *Arundell*.⁴⁵

At Boston he placed before Gage his plan for capturing Fort Pitt and holding it as a headquarters for the British Army in the west.

It is apparent from these plans that the object of Dunmore and Connolly in carrying on the Dunmore War and in entering into the subsequent treaty was to cause the Indians to adhere to the British side. This is his proposition as submitted to Gage: "As I have, by directions of his Excellency, Lord Dunmore, prepared the Ohio Indians to act in concert with me against his Majesty's enemies in that quarter, and have also dispatched intelligence to the different officers of the militia of the frontiers of Augusta County, in Virginia, giving Lord Dunmore's assurance to such of them as shall hereafter evince their loyalty to his Majesty, by putting themselves under my command when I should appear amongst them with proper authority for that purpose, of a confirmation of titles to their lands, and the quantity of three hundred acres to all who should take up arms in support of the constitution, when the present rebellion subsides, I will undertake to penetrate through Virginia and join his Excellency, Lord Dunmore, at Alexandria early next spring," upon the following conditions:

First; He was to have a commission of Major Commandant of such troops as he could raise on the frontier, including French and English partisans.

⁴⁴ James Tillman, in a letter dated July 20, 1775, says that he has heard that Dr. Connolly, "Lord Dunmore's chief instrument, is going to England with some Indian Chiefs of the Delaware tribe, who seek a confirmation of their lands. All things seem verging towards anarchy." Hist. Mass. Com. 14th, Report part X, page 341.

⁴⁵ American Archives Series IV, Volume 3, page 1047.

Second; General Gage was to direct Captain Lord, on the Illinois, to proceed to Detroit with his troops and put himself under Connolly's command when he reached that place.

Third; An artillery officer should go with Connolly to Detroit to collect ordnance sufficient to destroy Fort Dunmore (Pitt) and Fort Fincastle if they should resist.

Fourth; Connolly was to be authorized to make proper presents to the Indians to "urge them to act with vigor in the execution of his order."

Fifth; Gage was to furnish arms as might be necessary.

The proposals were accepted by Gage and the commission to Connolly made out as requested.⁴⁶

William Crowley was a servant in the employ of Connolly at Pittsburg and left that place with his master and travelled with him to Lord Dunmore, and accompanied him to Boston.

He knew of the various plans that Connolly had formed and was invited by him to join in the expedition to the Indian Country and to Detroit. Crowley was acquainted with Washington and when in Boston sent word to the latter that Connolly was on a visit to Gage, and informed him of the object of his visit. It is uncertain whether Crowley left Connolly at this place, or later at New York, where Connolly stopped and went on board the *Asia*. It is certain that Washington was informed of Connolly's plans and sent a messenger as speedily as possible to Maryland, to notify the Committee of Safety to be on the lookout for him.⁴⁷

Connolly remained in Boston with Gage for some time and on returning reached Portsmouth, Virginia, on the 12th day of October. He was ill for some days and unable to leave the vessel. On November 5th he received a commission from Lord Dunmore as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant.

Having perfected his plans for the conjunction of the British forces at Detroit and in the Illinois Country for

⁴⁶ Olden Times 1-522. A narrative of Connolly's plot, copied from the Pennsylvania Packet, is in *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, page 136.

⁴⁷ Crowley's statement is in *Am. Archives Series 4*, Vol. 3, page 1947. Also in *Maryland Report of Council of Safety*, page 93. It is not dated.

the descent on Fort Pitt, Connolly started on his overland journey to Detroit. He intended to proceed by the most direct route, not touching Pittsburg, but going very near that place, at Standing Stone. He parted from Lord Dunmore in the night of November 13, 1775, in company with Allen Cameron⁴⁸ and John Smyth. Within a few days they reached Hager's Town, and passing through it, stopped at a tavern, after a journey of about five miles. Here Connolly was recognized by the landlord. He was also, soon after recognized by others, for he was well known in this part of the country. A letter that Connolly had, some time before this, written to John Gibson had been published and it thus became known that Connolly was a Tory. It was soon noised through Hager's Town that he had passed through and as he was a suspicious character a body of troops was sent to arrest him and bring him back. Connolly and his companions were soon overtaken and the three men and their servant were returned to Hager's Town and kept in separate houses. They were examined by the Committee of Safety the next day. This Committee was not fully determined as to their duties in the matter and they ordered Connolly and his companions taken back to Frederick Town for further examination.

As soon as Frederick Town was reached Connolly met and was recognized by a Colonel who had just returned from Washington's headquarters at Cambridge, and was familiar with Connolly's visit to Gage.

It was useless now to attempt to deceive the Committee in their examination, and Connolly made a clean breast of the entire affair except that he did not give up his commission and the other papers he had received from Gage. His servant, who knew that this commission, with some other papers, was secreted in the saddle that Connolly used, took it out and sent it to his master and destroyed the other papers. The "proposals" that Connolly had submitted

⁴⁸ "Cameron was a native of Scotland. He agreed to accept a commission as first Lieutenant in the regiment to be raised by Connolly. John Smyth was also a native of Scotland and was to be a surgeon in Connolly's regiment. *Am. Arch. Series IV*, Vol. 3, page 1659. Narrative page 23.

to Gage were discovered and preserved. The Committee of Safety sent word to Congress that they had captured Connolly and his companions and asked for instructions.⁴⁹

A request was sent to Maryland that the prisoners should be escorted to Philadelphia under guard.⁵⁰

Preparations were made to convey them from Frederick Town to Philadelphia, but a day or two before they were to start, Connolly succeeded in obtaining pen, ink and paper and wrote several letters. These he gave to Smyth and assisted him, on the night preceding their departure for Philadelphia, to escape confinement.⁵¹

There were five of these letters. They are all printed in *Am. Arch.* Series IV. Vol. 4, page 615. In substance they are as follows:

First; A letter dated November 24, 1775, not directed, possibly for Lord Dunmore.

Second; To Alexander McKee at Pittsburg, telling him to provide for Mrs. Connolly, and to tell Captain Lord, at Vincennes, to push down the Mississippi and join Lord Dunmore.

Third; To Captain Lord Kaskaskia with the same information.

Fourth; To Captain Lernoult at Detroit, stating that the Americans may attack him early the next spring. "Let this suffice to give you notice of such intentions, and whether upon that account you might not judge it expedient to evacuate the garrison, and with Captain Lord move down the Mississippi and join the Earl of Dunmore at Norfolk."

Fifth; Another letter to Captain Lord with the like information.

Sixth; A letter to his wife, Susanna, at Pittsburg, in which he mentions his child and sends love to Sally.

These letters, except the first, are dated December 16, 1775.

Smith made his escape and after wandering over the country in various directions, was robbed of his money

⁴⁹ Connolly was arrested as the result of information received from Washington. Report of Committee of Safety, Maryland, page 92. *Journals of Congress*, new edition. Vol. 3, page 394, December 1, 1775. *St. Clair Papers* 2-98.

⁵⁰ *Journal of Congress*, Vol. 3, page 415.

⁵¹ *Narrative*, page 25.

by a companion guide that he had picked up, and was finally recaptured on January 12, 1776, by a party of nine "ruffians" who had been sent after him from Pittsburg. The letters intrusted to him by Connolly were found on his person and he was sent back to Philadelphia where Connolly had, in the meantime, been conducted.⁵² Connolly had not been long in jail before he began making applications to Congress for various purposes, evidently expecting, if his requests were granted, that he would be able to escape. His first petition for privilege to be permitted to walk in the prison yard was granted, with the instructions "to the gaolkeeper to take especial care to prevent his escape."⁵³

In one of these petitions about February 8, 1776, Connolly says, "A prejudice, universal as it is groundless, seems to have rendered me particularly odious to my countrymen; conceiving that I was to have been the base instrument of instigating the savages to desolate the frontier, to sacrifice the defenseless women and children, and to introduce the utmost scene of calamity and distress, appear to render my situation peculiarly severe. But when I assure you that a design so inhuman never entered my breast, that no earthly consideration could ever induce me to promote so dishonorable and inglorious a proceeding, I flatter myself, I shall gain your credit."

He asked to be allowed to visit his brother in the country for his health and would obey any directions Congress might impose. The brother he refers to was General James Ewing, a half brother.⁵⁴ This additional precaution to watch and guard him, did not prevent him from asking

⁵² Smith was brought to Philadelphia January 18, 1776, by Captain Shryock, and was committed to close confinement. Colonial Record X, 461, 469, Journals of Congress IV, page 120. Dr. Smith in his tour of America says, "My mind distracted, my body enfeebled, emaciated and tormented with excruciating pain, in an enemy's country, destitute of money or resource and without a single friend. I was in a condition truly to be commiserated and not to be excelled in distress. This was a trial, the most arduous and severe I ever met with, but still my resolution did not forsake me and I determined to proceed, notwithstanding every difficulty and danger." Connolly was escorted to Philadelphia by Adam Fisher and privates under his command, and committed to jail, with Smith and Cameron. Journals of Congress IV, pages 29, 31, and 34. American Archives Series IV, Vol. 4, page 508, January 3, 1776.

⁵³ Journal of Congress IV, page 120.

⁵⁴ American Archives Series IV, Vol. 4, page 958.

other, and making repeated requests for additional privileges or for the relaxation of stringent rules.

Congress was informed on March 28, 1776, that some prisoners meditated an escape and that they had come very near carrying it into execution, and then Connolly, Smith and Moses Kirtland were confined in separate apartments and the jailer, Thomas McKean, was allowed fifty additional men to defend the jail.⁵⁵

A committee was appointed to examine the jail and see if it was secure. It was proposed to remove Connolly from the new jail, which had recently been completed, to the old city jail, but this was not done and he remained in the old building. Connolly's wife now came to Philadelphia, leaving her child at Pittsburg, and upon request of Connolly she was permitted to visit him but was not permitted to leave the city after seeing him.⁵⁶

For a time she lived without the jail but as she had no means to pay for her support she moved into the prison, but later lived outside and was supported by Congress.⁵⁷

Samuel Sample, Connolly's father-in-law, called on him repeatedly while he was confined in jail, in March and April, 1776, and as the authorities suspected that everything was not as it should be, they investigated and found that a plan had been formed to liberate the prisoners. They were more closely confined and messengers were sent to stop Sample, who had left the city and was already on his way to Pittsburg.⁵⁸

Connolly was charged with the conspiracy, but stated that he had never undertaken to escape and would not now if his enlarged jail limits were restored. He said that Moses Kirkland had escaped but that he knew nothing of his plans.⁵⁹

Mrs. Connolly, in June, 1776, reported to Congress that her husband was very ill and required additional attendance. She also asked that she might be sent back to Pittsburg

⁵⁵ Journals of Congress IV, page 239.

⁵⁶ Journals of Congress IV, pages 350, 366.

⁵⁷ American Archives Series V, Vol. 2, page 254.

⁵⁸ Colonial Record X, page 533.

⁵⁹ American Archives Series IV, Vol. 6, page 433.

and if it was deemed injurious to the Country to permit her to be at large, that at least¹ they would imprison her in Pittsburg, where her child was. Congress voted her 25 shillings per week for her support.⁶⁰

In November, 1776, she informed the Committee of Safety that her husband had planned to escape, and she told the jailer that in consequence of her actions Connolly had used her so badly it was impossible for her to live with him longer and she asked permission to go to her family at Pittsburg.⁶¹

Notwithstanding this revelation, Connolly was, at this time permitted to go to his half-brother, General Ewing, on the River Susquehanna. Here he remained two months when, on account of suspicious circumstances, he was remanded to his former place of confinement.⁶²

In September Mrs. Connolly was liberated and permitted to return to her family in Cumberland County.⁶³

Connolly, in his narrative, says that in December, 1777, Cameron, Smith and Maclean undertook to escape from prison. They gained the roof of the prison and made a rope of their blankets on which to slide down to the ground. Cameron was the first one to undertake the descent. The rope broke and he fell nearly fifty feet, breaking both ankles and very nearly killing him. It was a long time before he recovered. It was in consequence of this affair, in which Connolly was suspected of having had a part, though he denied it, that General Putnam was directed to send him, under guard, to be confined in Baltimore.⁶⁴

This order was not carried out for he was still in jail on December 23rd.⁶⁵ Through the intercession of his half-brother, General Ewing, he was permitted to go to the latter's home upon agreeing to return to his prison when called upon. He remained but a few days at liberty when he was again summoned to return.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Colonial Record X, pages 648 and 696.

⁶¹ American Archives Series V, Vol. 3, page 777. There is no further mention of Mrs. Connolly in any of the Records. She did not join him in his later life.

⁶² Journals of Congress Vol. XII, page 1225.

⁶³ Journals of Congress V, page 748.

⁶⁴ Journals of Congress VI, page 1025.

⁶⁵ Penn. Arch. VI, page 130.

⁶⁶ Penn. Arch. VI, pages 242 and 245. He returned February 25, 1777.

He was ill at the time and made repeated applications to be permitted to return to his brother's home. The resolution granting that permission passed the Supreme Executive Council, April 2, 1777, and a short time after that a bond for his good conduct was given and he was set at liberty. One of the conditions of the bond was that he should confine himself within a distance of five miles from his brother's plantation in the County of York.⁶⁷

He remained at liberty until October 13th when the following resolution was passed in Congress, "Resolved, that it would be inconsistent with the public safety to permit Dr. John Connolly, at present a prisoner on parole, to remain any longer at large, and therefore that the Board of War be directed to order him into safe custody immediately, taking care to seize such of his papers as may be of a political nature."⁶⁸ At this time Philadelphia was in the hands of the British and Congress was in session at Baltimore.

Connolly says they took every scrap of manuscript they could find, and hurried him away to York Town prison, where he was closely locked up and every former severity renewed. Later his papers were returned as nothing of importance was found in them.⁶⁹

A petition from some of the prisoners in York Town was presented to Congress on May 17, 1778, which made charges of a very serious nature against the management of the prison. This petition, upon being received, was referred to the Board of War and an investigation made, which was published with the petition. The object in publishing the papers in conjunction with the petition was to satisfy the British authorities that Connolly was not improperly treated as a prisoner. Copies of the papers were directed to be sent by Washington to the Commander of the British forces in New York.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Colonial Records XI, pages 196 and 200. Penn. Arch. V, pages 297 and 298. In a letter from James Ewing to Dr. Connolly of April 4, 1777, he says, "I shall expect you early next week. Archy says he will be in Philadelphia on Sunday and I would not advise you to stay any time in town after your release. Pa. Arch. V page 298.

⁶⁸ Journals of Congress IX, page 800.

⁶⁹ Narrative, page 32.

⁷⁰ Journals of Congress, Vol. XII, pages 1130 and 1225.

In this report it was stated that Joshua Loring, British Commissioner of prisoners, in his letter of September 1, 1778, threatened to retaliate on American prisoners for sufferings which Connolly pretended to suffer. The reply of Congress to the complaints of Connolly was that he had no right to be considered or treated as a prisoner of war, but had been, and still remained amenable to the law martial as a spy and emissary of the British army; that when arrested he bore no commission as an officer in British service and was not armed or at the head of armed troops but was clandestinely making his way through the country to join, give intelligence to, and aid the garrison at Detroit.

Shortly after this Doctor Berkenhout was arrested and put in prison with Connolly and kept for some time.⁷¹ Upon his release and return within the British lines, he proposed that the exchange of prisoners between the forces at war be suspended until Connolly was exchanged or set free. When the exchange took place Connolly was to proceed northward to join Butler Rangers and immediately begin, or continue, guerilla warfare on the frontier settlements. This plot coming to the ears of Silas Dean, then ambassador to France, was communicated to Congress and Connolly was again strictly and closely confined. He knew nothing of the reason for this change of conduct on the part of Congress and supposed that they had determined to execute him as a spy.⁷²

An entire year of imprisonment followed in which a little more indulgence was granted the prisoner as time elapsed, but it was not until after General Sullivan's return from his invasion of the country of the Iroquois that any steps were taken to exchange Connolly. Sullivan's success had induced Congress to think that the Indians were so badly defeated that they could not recover and that Connolly

⁷¹ There is some difficulty in determining the exact date of Berkenhout's arrest and confinement. It is noticed in the Pennsylvania Packet of September 5, 1778. The order for his arrest was made by the council, September 3, 1778. Col. Rec. XI, 567. He was ordered sent within the enemy's lines near New York City, September 12, 1778. Id. page 576.

⁷² Dean Papers III pages 73, 119, 188. Narrative, 50.

could do nothing among them that would be of any great detriment to the Americans. A resolution to exchange Connolly for any lieutenant colonel in the British prisons was passed by Congress, and on July 4, 1780, he was permitted to go to New York on his parole. He agreed to effect an exchange with Lieutenant Colonel Ramsay. Ramsay was at once liberated on parole but the final exchange was not completed till October 25, 1780. Connolly now sought employment in the British army, and laid before Sir Henry Clinton a plan for attacking the frontier outposts with the expectation of soon being able to take Pittsburg, and then he was to act with the Indians of the west. The season was too far advanced to proceed that year and in the following April he was ill, but in June he joined the army under Cornwallis and moved southward. He was with Cornwallis at York Town and was appointed to command the Loyalists of Virginia and North Carolina. Upon the arrival of the French fleet he was ordered to return to York Town. Many of the troops were taken ill on account of the impure water and the hot climate, to which they were unaccustomed. Connolly was among the number incapacitated from the duties and accepted the invitation of one of the inhabitants living in the country near York Town to make him a visit. Leave of absence was granted him by Lord Cornwallis on September 21, 1781, and he set out on his expected vacation⁷³. Unfortunately for him he wandered into the territory in possession of American troops, was arrested and taken before Washington. Regarding the incident he says, "I was now to see a man with whom I had been formerly upon a footing of intimacy, I may say of friendship. Politics might induce us to meet like enemies in the field, but should not make us personally so. I had small time for reflection; we met him on horseback coming to view the camp. I can only say the friendly sentiment he once publicly professed for me no longer existed. He ordered me to be conducted to the Marquis de Lafayette's quarters."⁷⁴

⁷³ Narrative, page 54.

⁷⁴ Narrative, page 55.

He was, within a few days, sent by Washington sixty miles back into the country and remained there a prisoner until after the surrender at York Town. The governor of Virginia gave him permission to go to Philadelphia, where he arrived December 12th and where he applied to the Secretary of War for leave to go to New York. Instead of obtaining the desired permission he was again committed to prison on the ground that he had violated his parole given to Virginia. On making another application to Washington for relief he was informed that it was not intended that he should leave Virginia. He remained in jail in Philadelphia until March 1782 when he was permitted to go to New York and from there he sailed for Europe.

The war was practically at an end at this time, and those who had devoted themselves to British interests were seeking to receive compensation for their losses, or pay for their time. It was for these purposes that Connolly prepared and had printed in London, in 1783, his narrative which ends as follows: "A compensation for my loss of estate is all I require; and I shall endeavor to support this unmerited adversity with that conscious dignity of mind which I hope will never forsake me, and in a manner the least exceptionable."

He was not successful in obtaining allowance from the government or even the half pay of a retired officer. Under an act of Parliament passed to provide compensation for loyalists who had lost property in the war, applications were being made to commissioners appointed to receive them and he presented his claim which was heard on the second of February, 1784, and on the following days. His testimony in most particulars corroborates the other records concerning his life and the property which he had lost by reason of the war. He testified that he was an American, born and inherited land in Pennsylvania, which he sold, and settled in Virginia in 1770. He was engaged in war against the Indians and commanded the militia in Augusta County. He then tells of being sent by Dunmore to General Gage and of his return and arrest on the 19th of November 1775 and his imprisonment for five years. "He was not

particularly ill treated." He was exchanged in 1780 and went to New York. He was again taken prisoner in September, 1781, and remained in prison until in March, 1782, when he was paroled on condition that he go to England. He owned 300 acres of land in Augusta County, 40 acres of land and a house near Pittsburg, with furniture, etc. He had 4000 acres in Fincastle County granted to him by Lord Dunmore in 1772. He claimed, as his losses, £1000 for land, house and furnishings near Pittsburg; £4000 for the 4000 acres owned in Fincastle County; £500 for other lands in that neighborhood and £307 13s 9d for pay as Major Commandant of Militia from December 16, 1773, to June 16, 1775. He also made claims for other losses, such as wheat, flour, pack-horses, horses, etc., in the sum of £849 13s.

He produced, as witnesses on his behalf, the Earl of Dunmore, Major Stockton, who was in jail with him in Philadelphia, and Joseph Galloway.

The commissioners evidently felt that Connolly was exaggerating his losses and only allowed him a small portion of his claims. For his land in Pennsylvania he was allowed £120, and £48 for his house and 40 acres near Pittsburg, for his furniture he received £150 and for the 4000 acres in Fincastle County he was to have £475. Thus his claims were fixed at £793. It is well to note that he accepted the sum of £475 for his confiscated lands in Fincastle, the present City of Louisville.⁷⁵

At a convention held at Danville, Kentucky, in 1785, the entire separation of Kentucky from the United States was discussed. The reasons for the desire to form a separate government were the impossibility of applying for assistance to a central eastern government from which the State was so far removed and the difficulty of being adequately repre-

⁷⁵ Bureau of Archives (Ontario) 1904, page 1146. From Political Beginnings of Kentucky (Filson Club). Fincastle County, Virginia, was organized in 1772. (Henning's Statutes, at Large, Vol. 8, page 600.) This act was passed in February, 1772, and is entitled "An act for dividing the County of Botetourt into two distinct counties." In October, 1776, Fincastle County was divided into Kentucky, Washington, and Montgomery, and the name of Fincastle became extinct. Henning's Statutes Vol. 9, page 257. "An act for dividing the County of Fincastle into three distinct counties and the parish of Botetourt into four distinct parishes."

sented in the legislature distant several hundred miles from the people. It was resolved to apply to the general assembly for an act to separate Kentucky from the remainder of Virginia, in order that it might enjoy "all the privileges, advantages, and immunities of a free, sovereign, and independent republic."

A memorial by General James Wilkinson, was prepared on the occasion of the presentation of the resolution to the Assembly.⁷⁶

"An act concerning the erection of the district of Kentucky into an independent State" was passed in October, 1785.⁷⁷

The act provided that Kentucky should be formed into an independent member of the American Confederacy, and it was further conditioned that the consent of Congress to the formation of the State should be first obtained.

There were unforeseen delays in carrying into effect the act for the separation of Kentucky as a separate State and a new act on the subject was passed by Virginia in October, 1786,⁷⁸ and a further act on the same subject was passed in October, 1788.⁷⁹

All these acts provided that the State should be admitted with the other States, with the consent of Congress. It was at this time that the New Federal Constitution was being adopted by the States, and before the Kentucky matter could be disposed of in the Continental Congress that body ceased to exist and Kentucky still remained a part of Virginia. Many of the people of that State were greatly displeased at the delay, which they thought to be unnecessary, and some of them, taking advantage of this uneasiness entered into a conspiracy to form Kentucky into an independent government, or to transfer allegiance to the Kingdom of Spain. As our particular interest is only to show the connection of Connolly with the State, we will refer again to the patent of Lord Dunmore in 1773.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Pol. Beg. of Ky., 70.

⁷⁷ Hening's Statutes Vol. 12, page 37.

⁷⁸ Hening's Statutes, Vol. 12, page 240.

⁷⁹ Id. 788.

⁸⁰ A copy of this grant is printed in the "Centenary of Louisville," page 131.

By this patent Connolly became the owner of 2000 acres of land, and by another conveyance he and John Campbell became the owners of two thousand acres adjoining. By some subsequent partition proceedings Connolly became the owner of the upper and the lower parcels, of one thousand acres each. Connolly had designed to establish here such a colony as he had proposed to Washington in 1770.

In 1774, Campbell and Dunmore divided a portion of this tract into lots and advertised them for sale in Pittsburg.⁸¹

This land now constitutes a portion of the present City of Louisville. Connolly, as we have seen, had taken sides with Great Britain in the contest that begun in 1775 and his property, as well as that of many others, was confiscated because of his opposition to the new government. Campbell, the partner of Connolly in this real estate transaction, was a firm adherent of the new government. In 1779, he was proceeding up the Ohio River with goods for Pittsburg when he and his companions were surprised by the Indians and many of them killed, including Major David Rogers. Campbell was carried prisoner to Detroit and from there to Quebec and there exchanged and released on parole. While he was absent an act of the Virginia Assembly was passed for the establishment of the town of Louisville.⁸²

This act, of May, 1780, recites that certain property of John Connolly, has been settled upon by sundry people who have petitioned the Assembly to establish a town there, and it is resolved that one thousand acres of land, being forfeited property of John Connolly, adjoining the lands of John Campbell, is vested in John Todd, Jr., Stephen Trigg, George Slaughter, John Floyd, William Pope, George Meriwether, Andrew Hines, James Sullivan, and Marshen Brashiers as trustees for the location of the new town.

A law providing for the forfeiture to the state of property belonging to Tories was passed in May, 1770, and under the⁸³

⁸¹ Am. Arch. Series 1V, Vol. 1, page 278. Centenary of Louisville, 134.

⁸² Henning's Statutes 10, page 293.

⁸³ Henning's Statutes 10, page 66.

provisions of it, proceedings were taken to confiscate the lands of Connolly. The escheat¹ jury in this case, sat in Fayette County, with Daniel Boone as one of its members. The act establishing Louisville on the lands of Connolly and the verdict of the jury, by a singular coincidence, took place on the same day, July 1, 1780.⁸⁴

When Campbell returned from his captivity, he found that the act establishing Louisville had been passed in his absence and that while it purported to take the lands of Connolly, it, in reality, took some of his property also, and he held a mortgage on Connolly's portion. Upon his representation the Assembly restrained further sale of the land by an act of May, 1783.⁸⁵

In the following October another act was passed providing for the division of the property of Connolly from that of Campbell and the lands then found to belong to Connolly⁸⁶ were used first to pay Campbell's mortgage and the remainder turned over to the trustees of Louisville.⁸⁷

After the termination of the war, Connolly remained for a time in London where he engaged himself in laying plans for the recovery of America to the British Crown. Some papers, said to emanate from him, are printed in the Canadian Archives Report for 1890 on page 97.

He supposed the Americans were either just ready to re-attach themselves to England or to form a new monarchy with Washington as king. He was in Detroit in 1788⁸⁸ and reported that he sent a man to Fort Pitt who had ascertained that the people of Kentucky wanted to separate themselves from the federal government and form an independent government. A new colony was being established on the Ohio and General Samuel Holden Parsons, concerned in it, had made advances to Connolly for a harmonious understanding with Great Britain relative to keeping the Mississippi River open to their trade.

⁸⁴ St. Paul's Church, Louisville (Filson Club) 8.

⁸⁵ Hening's Statutes 11, page 276.

⁸⁶ Id. 322.

⁸⁷ Id. 475.

⁸⁸ Connolly came to Detroit from Quebec during the winter of 1787-8. St. Clair Papers 2-101.

Connolly asked permission to visit Pittsburg or Kentucky "in order to draw out propositions from men of character."⁸⁹

Having obtained the required consent, Connolly proceeded to Louisville, ostensibly to look after his confiscated estate, but in reality to see if some arrangement might be made for the betterment of the British government. This could be done either by the formation of Kentucky as an independent government that would continually look to England for assistance in a quarrel with Spain likely to grow out of the navigation of the Mississippi, or by the juncture of Kentucky with Spain which would soon result in the surrender to England of Kentucky and Louisiana. Thomas Marshall, in a letter to Washington of February 12, 1789, narrates the negotiations between General Wilkinson and the Spanish authorities relative to Kentucky, and states the connection of Connolly with the affair, as follows; "About this time arrived from Canada the famous Dr. (now Colonel) Connolly. His ostensible business was to inquire and repossess himself of some lands he formerly held at the Falls of the Ohio; but I believe that his real business was to sound the disposition of the leading men of this district respecting this Spanish business. He knew that both Colonel Shuter and myself had given it all the opposition in the convention we were able to do; and before he left the district he paid us a visit though neither of us had the honor of the least acquaintance with him. He was introduced by Colonel John Campbell, formerly a prisoner taken by the Indians and confined in Canada, who had previously informed us of the proposition he was about to make. He (Connolly) presently entered upon his subject, urged the great importance the navigation of the Mississippi must be to the inhabitants of the western waters; showed the absolute necessity of our possessing it;

⁸⁹ "A Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, a half pay officer, who has been recently fixed at Detroit, with the appointment of lieutenant governor, has penetrated through the western country, with a view doubtless to mark and try the spirit of the people; he found them nearly divided and therefore in that respect, was protected in his person from any public apprehension. but found it requisite to escape from the dread of private assassination." *Can. Arch. Rept.* 1890, page 124.

and concluded with assurances that, were we disposed to assert our rights respecting that navigation, Lord Dorchester was cordially disposed to give us powerful assistance; that his Lordship had, I think he said, four thousand British troops in Canada besides two regiments at Detroit, and could furnish us with arms, ammunition, clothing and money; that with this assistance we might possess ourselves of New Orleans, fortify the Balize at the mouth of the river, and keep possession in spite of the utmost efforts of Spain to the contrary. He made very confident professions of Lord Dorchester's wishes to cultivate the most friendly intercourse with the people of this country, and of his own desire to become serviceable to us; and with so much seeming sincerity that, had I not before been acquainted with his character as a man of intrigue and artful address, I should in all probability have given him my confidence. I told him that the minds of the people of this country were thoroughly prejudiced against the British, not only from circumstances attending the late war, but from a persuasion that the Indians were at this time stimulated by them against us; and that so long as those savages continued to commit such horrid cruelties on our defenceless frontiers, and were received as friends and allies by the British at Detroit, it would be impossible for them to be convinced of the sincerity of Lord Dorchester's offers, let his professions be ever so strong; and that if his Lordship would have us believe him really disposed to be our friend, he must begin by showing his disapprobation of the ravages of the Indians. He admitted the justice of my observations, and said he had urged the same to his Lordship before he left Canada. He denied that the Indians are stimulated against us by the British, and says that Lord Dorchester observed that the Indians are free and independent nations and have a right to make peace and war as they think fit, and that he could not with propriety interfere. He promised, however, on his return to Canada, to repeat his arguments to his Lordship on the subject, and hopes, he says, to succeed.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Letters to Washington IV, 250. Butler's Kentucky, 184.

Wilkinson's version of Connolly's visit does not materially differ from Marshall's. He says that he asked Connolly to call on him at Lexington and, having gained his confidence, ascertained everything Connolly knew about the intrigue. He says that Connolly arrived in Louisville in October, 1788, having travelled from Detroit through the woods to the mouth of the river Big Miami and then by boat down the Ohio. He visited Wilkinson November 8th. He said Dorchester would furnish ten thousand men for the enterprise. These men would proceed from Detroit through Lake Erie to the River Miami, thence to the Wabash and thence to any designated point on the Ohio. After Wilkinson had obtained from Connolly all the information he desired, he told him that the British were greatly disliked in Kentucky and that he was afraid the people would injure Connolly if they found out who he was. In order to carry out this scheme of frightening Connolly, he employed a hunter to assault him on pretext that he was avenging the death of a son who had been murdered by the Indians at the instigation of the English.

Wilkinson told Connolly that he was afraid the people would kill him and advised him to escape at once. Connolly asked for an escort to conduct him out of the country. This was furnished, and on November 20 he recrossed the Ohio on his way back to Detroit.⁹¹

It was not until October the following year (1789) that the report of Connolly's trip to Kentucky was sent to Lord Grenville.⁹²

We lose track of Connolly for the next few years. The treaty between America and England of 1794, generally known as the Jay Treaty, went into effect in 1796. It does not appear that Connolly lived in Detroit in the latter year for his name is not in the list of persons who desired to remain British subjects and he certainly, at that time did not intend to become an American Citizen. In that year

⁹¹ Gayerre's *Hist. Louisiana* III, 236. *Spanish Conspiracy*, 300. Wilkinson's Second Memorial *Am. Hist. Rev.* IX, 751. A passport issued by Connolly while in Kentucky in 1788 is printed in *St. Clair Papers* 2, 106.

⁹² *Can. Arch. Series Q* 2, page 623.

he applied to the Canadian Land Board for a grant of land as an United Empire Loyalist.⁹³ When Connolly first came to Detroit, he met there his old Pittsburg acquaintance, Mathew Elliot, and his relative, Alexander McKee. Both of these men were in Pittsburg when the war broke out and both left unceremoniously to join the British soldiers in Detroit, when they began to be eyed with suspicion by their fellow citizens of that place. McKee was more closely connected with Connolly than was Elliot, and when Connolly returned from General Gage in the fall of 1775, he bore with him a commission appointing McKee to a responsible office in the army they expected to raise at Detroit. This commission was never given to McKee but was destroyed by the servant of Connolly when the latter was arrested in Frederick Town in 1775.

Both Elliot and McKee held important positions in the Indian department at Detroit. Elliot was superintendent of Indian affairs in the west and McKee was Deputy Superintendent General.⁹⁴

In 1798 Elliot had gained the enmity of some of the other officers at the place and he was removed from his position. McKee took up his work and performed it as well as his own duties, to the satisfaction of the department.⁹⁵

Both men were getting along in years, though Elliot lived to take an active part in the War of 1812. During these years he made repeated and strenuous efforts to be reinstated in the Indian department. In 1799 McKee died and the administration of his office was given to James Baby, Alexander Grant, and Thomas McKee, jointly. There were several applications made to fill the vacancy created by the death of McKee. Elliot asked that his conduct be further investigated in order that if he was found satisfactory, he be reinstated and he could then obtain McKee's place. It was also recommended that William Claus, a grandson of Sir William Johnson, be appointed to the

⁹³ Can. Arch. Q. 282, pp. 336 and 408.

⁹⁴ Mich. Pio. and Hist. Soc. XXV, 210.

⁹⁵ Can. Arch. Q. 80 and 2, page 4.

vacancy, and James Baby also sought it.⁹⁶ Claus was soon given the place but this did not satisfy all of the applicants. Connolly applied to the Duke of Kent and asked him to use his influence to give him the place even if, in order to do so, some other occupant was forced out.

Connolly arrived in December, 1799, bearing a letter to Sir John Johnson ordering him (Connolly) to supersede any person who might have been placed by General Prescott in the situation in the Indian department formerly occupied by McKee. The orders from the Duke were peremptory. Johnson at once reported the matter to Lieutenant Governor Hunter. He reviewed the qualifications of McKee and stated the necessity of having a man well qualified by association with the Indians to fill the office of Deputy Superintendent of Indian affairs, and then he continued, "Your Excellency will therefore, I presume, agree in opinion with me that it would be highly necessary for the good of the King's service that the person appointed to succeed him should at least possess those essential requisites which it cannot be presumed Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly does, and I am sorry to say as I think it my duty to be under the necessity of declaiming he does not, though he possesses other talents that might render him useful in any other line of service."⁹⁷

Governor Hunter also was as decidedly opposed to the appointment of Connolly and as his report was to be made directly to the Duke of Kent, it became of greater interest to know of its contents. He wrote "I feel it my indispensable duty to state to your Royal Highness that so far as I am capable of judging I am decidedly of opinion the removal of Captain Claus and the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel Connolly in his room, would be highly prejudiced to his Majesty's service."⁹⁸

The appointment of Connolly was cancelled by the Duke of Kent, at the request of the Duke of York, in June of the following year.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Can. Arch. Q. 82 and 238 and Q. 286 and 2, page 428.

⁹⁷ Mich. Pio. and Hist. Soc. XXV, 206.

⁹⁸ Can. Arch. Q. 287-1, pp. 21, 18. The letter is dated December 27, 1799. The Duke of Kent was the father of Queen Victoria.

⁹⁹ Can. Arch. Q. 287-1, pages 121, 123.

Connolly seems now to have given up hope of obtaining government position and took up his residence in Montreal.

He died at that place, January 30, 1813, after a long and painful illness. His widow, Margaret, in a petition for a pension said that the distress of his illness was considerably augmented by the effects of his disappointments that had long preyed upon his mind. He had little property and lived upon his allowance of half pay granted by government.

It has been stated that Connolly was a Roman Catholic and his memorial to Del Campo substantiates that idea, though his mother was a staunch Presbyterian as appears by the terms of her will.

Connolly's first wife, as noted above, was Susanna Semple, a daughter of Samuel Semple, a tavern keeper in Pittsburg. There was at least one child born of this marriage, but the name and sex is not to be ascertained at the present time.

Mention is made by the Moravian minister, Zeisberger, of Connolly's son coming from Detroit in 1788 on his way to Pittsburg.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Zeisberger Diary, Vol. 1, page 406.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1844.

BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

In describing a political campaign three factors demand attention: policies, candidates and actual results. The noisy and irresponsible claims of party, the rosy and deceptively favorable atmosphere which surrounds the candidates, constitute the apparent and picturesque aspects of the contest, and are sometimes so far removed from actualities as to involve a tragedy of hope. The cold grey light of the day after election is the true medium for measuring the expectations, the claims and the character of the struggle. No appeal, calm or frenzied, lies from that judgment. The successful candidate begins to feel the responsibilities of his position when his followers, the unselfish as well as the party "bummers," press for reward, or with advice. When that stage is reached the campaign has become ancient history. The defeated are forgotten, the platform put away, and a popular mandate claimed for all acts of the new administration. The campaign of 1844 was peculiar in this: it marked the end of a quite remarkable political career—that of Van Buren; it also unmistakably marked a division between North and South which could only be healed in blood. It brought into strong relief a character of Massachusetts origin, but of truly national proportion.

In 1843, the principles of the two contending parties (for no one believed the weight of the Liberty Party could affect the result) were centred upon questions that played little part in the campaign. Banking, currency, distribution, and tariff, had been discussed for years, and the division in opinion upon them was as wide as ever, and unfortunately though necessarily, rested upon party lines. The attitude of the leading candidates throughout the Union upon these

questions was known, and the debates in Congress showed little energy or originality. They were questions which, like the poor, were and are always with us; and like the poor, required a modification in treatment as the old measures became inadequate, and new evils or conditions arose. Over none of them could the country lash itself into a fury, and no one of them seemed to offer a single feature that could sweep through the States and on its merit carry the party to victory. Tyler was playing with Texas much as his predecessors had done, and in so playing invited war to the country and impeachment to himself. In the first weeks of 1844 no one could have said with confidence that the tariff would have been settled to general satisfaction, or Texas brought nearer assured independence or even annexation to the Union. The calm of political affairs was broken only by the Whig dislike of Tyler, and by the violence of discussion in Congress. A saying of the time well expressed the situation. Seven principles governed the parties, the five loaves and two fishes.

Under this apparently calm exterior forces were at work at once permanent in their direction and increasing in strength, but these forces were tending to rend the country into sections at war with one another. For an expression of these forces we look in vain to the men who were then contending for the Presidency. The campaign of 1840 had brought a train of bitter disappointment to both parties. The candidate of the Democracy had for years been designated and with only sporadic opposition in harmless force and position. Van Buren had been the political heir of Jackson, and custom prescribed a second term as his due. The question of Vice-President was as usual of little importance, something to be thrown to the South or West with a reckless disregard of possibilities that in the actual event of the other party amounted to a tragedy. For Harrison was the chosen leader of the Whigs; and his running mate was Tyler, a Virginian, who inherited every quality calculated to antagonize the party from which he received his nomination. The Virginian dynasty ended in 1824, with the election of John Quincy Adams, and had in subsequent

time exhausted its capacity for well-doing, while retaining, even in accentuated form, its capacity for political and administrative mischief. The election of 1840 long remained in memory as a most remarkable exhibition of popular feeling. It was the campaign of log cabins, rolling balls, coon skins and hard cider. It was vociferous, quite meaningless and inconclusive, save in ending in the defeating of the Jackson Democrats.¹ That the noise, the drunkenness and the hurrahs overthrew the Jacksonians, as was claimed, is not for one moment to be admitted. The financial conditions following the panic of 1837 were sufficient to account for the result. A brief exhibition of Harrison was followed by the first experience of a Vice-President's succession to office. The experience was not altogether satisfying. A man who leaves his own to join the opposing party is an object of suspicion to both. He loses the confidence of the one, without gaining that of the other. At heart a strict constructionist, Tyler could never wear the Whig uniform gracefully or willingly. He acted according to his conscience, and it was a conscience that could not entirely act with either Whigs or Republican-Democrats. Three years of opposition brought round another presidential contest, and under new conditions. Such a stampede as had occurred in 1840 could not again occur. On this point Van Buren was confident. "Can we expect the people of this country to maintain the elevated standing in the eyes of the world, which they have hitherto enjoyed, if, after the lapse of years, and the fullest opportunity for reflection, they suffer themselves to be a second time operated upon by appliances, from the use of which every friend to free government must turn with mortification and disgust."²

The country had slowly recovered from the effects of its speculative intoxication, and Tyler had solved none of the problems handed on by Van Buren in 1841. Before 1843 the Whigs were hopelessly divided, with Webster

¹ "We go for Tippecanoe and Tyler too.

Without a why or wherefore." — *Campaign Song*.

² *Van Buren to Snowden and others*, January 29, 1844, MS.

and Tyler on one side and Clay on the other. Before 1844 Tyler was dreaming of a renomination, counting upon the support of a part of the Whigs and some of his former associates among the Democrats, and a brilliant political manœuvre. Ambition is ever brightly coloured, but the ambitions of a man in Tyler's situation were veritable will-o'-the-wisps. No act could give him the confidence of the Democrats; every act tended to deprive him of any confidence of the Whigs. Named in derision "Captain" Tyler he exerted little influence upon party movements though willing to bargain with every faction.³

Nor was the position of the Democracy as good as surface signs would indicate. Apparently the party acquiesced in the claims of Van Buren to another nomination, and on the policies of his first term, policies directly inherited from Jackson. But indications were not wanting of restiveness under his leadership, and under the dictation of a policy which no longer represented a quality of fight in it, something ringing in tone to arouse the full energies of the patriots who did the voting, or saw to it that others voted to enable them to reap the rewards. Van Buren had rivals in 1844 as he had in 1840, but the interval of four years had greatly fed their hopes, and opened a vista of political accidents by which they could profit. Even Jackson's influence had declined, and his command was humored rather than obeyed. A letter from him served to bolster up a cause or an individual, but could not point out a cause or a success. To remove Van Buren from the path of these ambitious ones many schemes were started. It was proposed to place him on the Supreme Bench and then take up Silas Wright as a candidate. If this idea originated with Tyler, as was believed at the time, it may be taken as a measure of his statesmanship and political management. When Wright was consulted he answered: "Tell Mr. Tyler from me, that if he desires to give to this whole country a broader, deeper, heartier laugh than it ever had,

³"The Elections of yesterday and the day before sufficiently prove that there is no schism in the Democratic party, and not the shadow of a party for the election of John Tyler as President of the United States." Adams, *Memoirs*, XI, 446.

and at his own expense, he can effect it by making that nomination.”⁴

In North and South this tendency to question the availability of Van Buren made itself felt, but not to such an extent as to awaken in him any suspicion of his success in winning the nomination. The Southerners muttered something about the “hypocrisy” of the New York politicians, and attributed their conduct and sentiments to Van Buren. In the Northwest, Lewis Cass was coming forward as a candidate of some pretensions. In Pennsylvania, which had declared for Buchanan in 1842, his adherents were feeling the pulse of the State in his favor. The result was not promising. One of the delegates to the Pittsburg Convention expressing a preference for Van Buren was called a “sap-headed fool”; another used the epithet “a d—d liar” several times, and it was finally decided to refer the matter to the people.⁵ It was too early to push Buchanan for such a place.

The leading figure from the South was Calhoun, no longer of presidential size, but possessing a following sufficient to awaken apprehension in the minds of his competitors. He himself was so completely absorbed by his views on slavery, and his efforts to ward off any attack, foreign or domestic upon it, that he had ceased to be looked upon in any sense as a practical leader. With the concentrated intensity of a fanatic he possessed some of the qualities of a prophet; but the cause he represented required other methods and other weapons that he could bring. South Carolina in 1832 had received a set-back that had relegated her leaders into that rather suspected and certainly uninfluential class of violent agitators without enough force even to effect a part of their purpose. In heart they were still nullifiers, but the increasing weight of opposition to slavery drove them to a defence of that institution and to the neglect of all other problems of state. So Calhoun found his place in Tyler’s cabinet, whence he could conduct a keenly logical but entirely futile contest in words with Great Britain—

⁴ *Silas Wright to Van Buren, January 2, 1844. MS.*

⁵ *O. H. Browne to Van Buren, January 1, 1844. MS.*

supposed to be plotting the downfall of slavery in the United States. He was in his element, and even to this day the reader of his despatches is struck by their power of refined argument, and by their entire want of any quality which could make them acceptable. A monk of the Middle Ages would show just those powers and just those defects. As a political factor he had ceased to exist. Tyler admitted that he did not so much as consult Calhoun upon his own convention at Baltimore.⁶ In South Carolina the Calhoun men were refractory and quite disposed to have nothing to do with the Baltimore Convention, on the ground that it was a "packed jury."⁷ The friends of Polk in the South reasoned thus: that Van Buren would be first on the ticket, but as he would not be entirely acceptable to West and South, those sections must be reconciled by naming to the second place a man like Polk, who would be assured of the entire southern vote. Such an argument received support by the Mississippi Democratic Convention, held January 6, 1844, which nominated Van Buren for the Presidency, endorsed Polk for the second place, after rejecting the names of Calhoun, R. M. Johnson and W. R. King.

Henry Clay was the sole candidate of the Whigs, and the confidence of victory which now surrounded him made him the shining mark of hostile criticism as well as friendly adoration. Of the man nothing need be said beyond the tribute paid to him by Webster in this very campaign: "He is a man of frankness and honor, of unquestioned talent and ability, and of a noble and generous bearing."⁸ To his enemies he was a demagogue. His career had not been limited by consistency, some of his acts, both private and public, were picturesquely in violation of recognized conventions; but the personality of the man carried him through situations wherein even stronger men would be wrecked. And now the idol of his party, in the face of a divided opposition, he counted upon gaining his wish, and

⁶"As to my convention at Baltimore, Mr. Calhoun had no more to do with it than a man in Nova Zembla. I never troubled myself even to enquire his opinion about it." *John Tyler to John S. Cunningham*, May 8, 1856.

⁷*Garland to Van Buren*, January 12, 1844. MS.

⁸Speech at Valley Forge, October 3, 1844. *Works*, II, 280.

overreached himself in grasping at it. Before two months had passed his position on Texas was more than dubious, and the more he explained, the greater was the doubt of his conviction.⁹

If a new candidate was to be, new issues must be raised. The national bank question could not receive attention because of Tyler's attitude. The leading discussions in the last session had been upon the tariff, which was not a strong point in Van Buren's past career, and Rule 21 of the House of Representatives, involving the right of petition. Some complained that Congress had apparently "settled down to an exclusive consideration of the 21st rule, and of such other abstract propositions as the few friends of Mr. Calhoun and old Mr. Adams choose to entertain it with."¹⁰ Tracy of New York explained the divisions among the Democrats on those questions as due to the fact that "our party is broader than our principles," an explanation at once euphemistic and on the whole uncomplimentary to the party. Inasmuch as the agitation on these two questions was seen to come from Van Buren's friends, the South warned him that a continuance in that course would arouse deep distrust and dissatisfaction, which would extend to the presidential question and to him as the northern candidate. Had tariff and abolition petitions alone been the issues, Calhoun would have thriven on the declamatory agitation.

It would be interesting to compile the various criticisms passed upon Van Buren, for his friends and enemies had thus gauged the man not without accuracy. Rives, of Virginia, who had been read out of the Jackson party for alleged "apostasy,"—a favorite word with the old Tennessean,—announced that he was opposed to the "fatal and demoralizing tendencies of Mr. Van Buren's whole system of political action, and denounced his support as an unscrupulous and sordid party oligarchy, working by the "secret and invisible agency of self constituted *conclaves*

⁹"The object of Clay's highest ambition escaped him because, at the decisive moment he was untrue to himself." Schurz. *Henry Clay*, II, 265.

¹⁰*Silas Wright to Polk*, February 27, 1844, MS.

and *caucuses*, controlled with absolute sway by a few bold and adroit political managers."¹¹ The criticisms of friends went deeper. Buchanan spoke of Van Buren's want of popularity in 1840, as one of the causes of the disaster of that year. The men who were Van Buren men acted more because of their hope of being carried by him into office and power than because of real affection or confidence in the man himself. The very fact of his being the inevitable candidate increased the irritation due to his having suffered a severe defeat in 1840, and his past record was being overhauled in a spirit that boded much explanation on his part. His vote on the tariff of 1828, "the tariff of abominations," proved an annoying subject.

Unexpectedly rumors spread of negotiations begun by Tyler for the annexation of Texas, and the possibility of a treaty became the engrossing topic.¹² The question was not a new one, but one phase of it now became dominant—the influence such a measure would have on political supremacy. The contest between Whig and Democrat, could be set aside as immaterial; the question of slave and free States assumed a vast importance. But again, it was not existing conditions which constituted the real problem, but future possibilities. Dissolution of the Union was the talk almost of the street. Did not this in itself mark the extraordinary change which had taken place in policy since 1832, the height of the nullification contest? It was not necessary to go back so far.

In December, 1843, Clay declined to reply to a question on the annexation of Texas to the United States, addressed to him by Mr. Child, Editor of an abolition paper, on the ground that he did not think it right, *unnecessarily*, to present new questions to the public. It would be wicked in Tyler, he said, to introduce an exciting topic, for his own

¹¹ *Rives to Edmond Fontaine*, January 1, 1844.

¹² Clay, in July, 1844, thought the Texas question "was a bubble blown up by Mr. Tyler in the most exceptionable manner, for sinister purposes, and its bursting has injured nobody but Mr. Van Buren." *To Stephen H. Miller*, July 1, 1844. One of his correspondents, J. C. Wright, believed the question of annexation would be no more than a nine days' topic of vituperation, and added "with the old issues we are safe, depend upon it."

selfish purposes and to produce discord and distraction in the nation.¹³ Later in March, after the rumor of negotiations with Texas had become pronounced, and while he was making a progress of the Southern States, he could write that there was "no such anxiety for the annexation here at the South as you might have imagined."¹⁴ This would argue that Clay's political foresight was not good, or that there is danger in such progresses of defeating their very object—that of getting in touch with public opinion, a danger that attends the journeyings of a President as well as a would-be President.

It would have puzzled the most astute politician to give a reasonable forecast of the political situation in the first days of the last week of April, 1844. But in five days of that week a series of pronouncements came that did not clarify the standing of the two parties at once, but gave occasion for a movement that ended in overthrowing the carefully laid plans of Van Buren, in defeating Clay, and in irrevocably turning the public policy to the slave-holders at the cost of disrupting the Democracy and almost of disrupting the Union. On the morning of April 27 the *National Intelligencer* printed a letter from Clay against the immediate annexation of Texas. On the evening of the same day the *Globe* published a letter of Van Buren taking much the same position,¹⁵ a remarkable coincidence which gave rise to a belief that the two opponents had consulted one another on the matter. Four days later the secrecy of the Senate was violated by the publication in the *New*

¹³ *Clay to Crittenden*, December 5, 1843.

¹⁴ *Clay to Crittenden*, March 24, 1844. Seven days later W. S. Fulton wrote to Van Buren: "The Texas treaty is now the engrossing topic here. Mr. Calhoun's arrival induces the belief that a treaty will be immediately signed and sent to the Senate. The Whigs are in great confusion. They do not know what to do. If it is made manifest that Texas will fall into the hands of England, if the Treaty is rejected, they will be compelled to go for the treaty. It will be death to any southern man to vote against the Treaty." *W. S. Fulton to Van Buren*, 31 March, 1844. MS.

¹⁵ Van Buren wrote his letter to W. H. Hammet, a member of Congress from Mississippi, who had asked him to define his position on the question of annexation. Hammet had been a Methodist preacher, but turned politician, and had supported Van Buren in 1840. Wright thought him vain, excitable and indiscreet, seeking to secure credit for himself from the reply to his questions. Van Buren sent this reply to Wright, who took a night upon it, thought well of it, and read it to his messmates.

York Evening Post of the treaty for the annexation of Texas submitted by Tyler. "It is John Tyler's last card for a popular whirlwind to carry him through; and he has played it with equal intrepidity and address. He has compelled Clay and Van Buren to stake their last chance upon opposition to the measure *now*, and has forced himself upon the whole Democracy as their exclusive candidate for the Presidency next December."¹⁶

Cool-headed Silas Wright at once admitted the danger of a serious split in the party because of Van Buren's letter, and saw in the opposition the hand of Calhoun as well as of Tyler. The disaffected improved the Texas question to excite passion and prejudice, and sought in the few days before the conventions in Baltimore to turn the agitation to account in securing votes for any one who would not antagonize the admission of Texas.¹⁷ As a southern man asserted, "Give us any northern man, or any man from a Free State, who will not kill us all off," a demand that clearly excluded Van Buren.¹⁸ So open was the discontent among the Democrats that their opponents were confident of success under Clay's leadership, and so true a Democrat as William R. King, just leaving to represent this country in France, confessed he saw no prospect of victory and a party doomed to defeat. "Discontent, division, despondency, seem to have taken complete possession of a large portion of our prominent men; and, with a decided majority of the people in our favor, we are about to be shamefully beaten, from a want of harmony, and concert of action."¹⁹

It was decided to print it at once. Van Buren was consulted, and gave his approval, after which Hammet was sought. While this search was being made arrangements were made with Rives for putting it in type. When Hammet was run down, he "was frightened, and it was with some difficulty that we induced him to consent to our proposition for publication before he had read it; but he behaved well, and himself and the Major remained at the Globe office until about midnight, to examine the proof." *Wright to Van Buren*, April 29, 1844. MS. Blair was sick at the time, but had the letter read to him; and Rives offered Hammet one hundred dollars for the manuscript.

¹⁶ Adams, *Memoirs*, XII, 22.

¹⁷ *Wright to the New York Delegation to the Baltimore Convention*, May 2, 1844.

¹⁸ *Parmenter to Bancroft*, May 6, 1844. MS.

¹⁹ *King to Bancroft*, May 12, 1844. MS.

Clay was nominated without opposition. Tyler did not obtain the help from his treaty which he had expected. His convention of office-holders met on the same day as the Democratic National Convention, and ended its labors by giving him a nomination without so much as suggesting a running mate. Nothing could have expressed the doubts of the Democrats more clearly than the conduct of the rival party convention. A large majority of the delegates had been instructed or pledged to vote for Van Buren. They turned down the two leading names, Van Buren and Cass, and took up Polk who had been intended for the second place on the ticket; and on the Vice Presidency blundered into naming Silas Wright, who would not accept under any condition, and thus made a second choice necessary in Dallas. New York was set aside and Pennsylvania recognized. Tyler's treaty was rejected by the Senate eight days later, 16 to 35, and Congress adjourned without taking a definite step in the matter of annexation. The session had been fruitful only of profitless discussion.²⁰

Now that Van Buren was out of the way, the existence of Tyler as a candidate was a source of danger. Had Van Buren received the nomination, the Tyler following, such as it was, would have been in revolt, and could not hope for any consideration or recognition from the Van Burenites. So pressure was brought upon Tyler to withdraw from the contest. The Polk wing cried out for oblivion to the past, and promised a welcome to the republican ranks. They induced Jackson to write a letter in favor of Tyler's standing aside, on the ground that such a step would unite all Democrats into one family without distinction, all former differences forgotten, and all cordially united in sustaining the Democratic candidates.²¹ Tyler believed that his own candidacy had forced the Baltimore Convention to name one who was favorable to the admission of Texas into the Union.²² The political idea he wished to compass was

²⁰ Adams (*Memoirs*, XII, 57) spoke of it as the "first session of the most perverse and worthless Congress that ever disgraced this Confederacy."

²¹ *Niles Register*, LXVI. p. 416.

²² *Tyler to Ritchie*, January 9, 1851.

thus provided for, and he could retire with honor. His letter of withdrawal was published late in August.²³

An united party! That was the cry, and resolutions on that line began to flow in from every part of the country. Sometimes the poetic and imaginative gave a curious expression to this feeling. "Resolved," said one body of the unterrified, "That in the proceedings of the Baltimore convention we have beheld the summer storm which purifies the atmosphere, succeeded by the bursting forth of the glorious sun, the harbinger of a bright and glorious day."²⁴ Ritchie, in the *Richmond Enquirer* could see only victory as a result. "It heals all divisions; unites our party with bands of iron." Van Buren, good party man as he was, called upon his followers to support the ticket. He knew as well as we know to-day that it was not his Texas letter which defeated him in the Convention. For years he wrote and talked of the intrigues and plottings that had overthrown him, and his relations with Polk were short and unfortunate, because Polk had reaped the benefits of this underground work. Did Van Buren have cause to complain of methods in which he had been so great an adept? In pursuing his own ends he had educated others in the same school of political management.

Of the campaign methods little will suffice. There were the same riotous claims, the same personalities, the same trickery and evasion, and the same appearance, if not the reality, of fraud, which are noted in the aftermath of every campaign, be it for the election of a President or of a pound-master. Polk's issue was sprung as a surprise, and could best win if carried along with a rush. On Texas the public mind was excited, feverish and unstable. His opponent thought he could win on the old issues, and hardly realized

²³ Before nine months had passed Tyler complained of Polk's unrelenting war against his sincere friends in office. To *Alexander Gardiner*, May 21, 1845.

²⁴ Quoted by Bidlack, in *Congressional Globe*, 28th Congress, 1st session p. 662. Summers (*Congressional Globe*, June 4, 1844,) compared the Democratic party to "two shipwrecked mariners, who were clinging to a plank on the tempest-tossed ocean, each struggling to obtain exclusive possession to the destruction of the other, as the only means of salvation; but, when providentially washed ashore, embracing each other, and unitedly singing hosannahs in a transport of joy."

the strength of the Texas measure. Indecent personalities and irrelevant topics gave rise to local flurries, and the campaign swept along till the day of election. Clay was defeated. The blow was stunning to the Whigs. Frelinghuysen claimed that the defeat in New York was due to an "alliance of the foreign vote, and that most impracticable of all organizations, the Abolitionists." Millard Fillmore damned the Abolitionists, and despaired of the Republic. "May God save the country; for it is evident the people will not."²⁵ The opinion was general that no man of real ability could in the future be elected President; it was to be the reward of mediocrity. Even the Polk following was at first amazed by the victory. It meant the extinction of the Whig party in the southern states.

Intrigue there had been, and plenty of it, north, south and west. The explanation is not sufficient. It was a final and irreparable split between North and South. Northern democrats were pitted against southern democrats, and the policies of the two sections were diametrically opposed. The political historian of New York, Hammond, told the truth to Van Buren. "More than forty years' experience proves the more the Northern Democracy yields to the South, the more she demands; and individuals at the North, after for years acceding to the wishes of the southern men and in the compromising spirit of the Constitution sustaining what are called 'Southern principles' generally receive from that section of the country a feeble and reluctant support."²⁶ The South was now in open revolt, and intent upon securing full control of the Government. Polk was for annexation simply. Van Buren could not be brought to see the crux of the situation. Clay always thought that the tariff had been the real issue.²⁷ None admitted the existence of the great moral question of the extension of slavery.²⁸

²⁵ *Fillmore to Clay*, November 11, 1844.

²⁶ *Hammond to Van Buren*, April 7, 1844. MS.

²⁷ Meeting in Cincinnati, Salmon P. Chase, chairman, where extension of slavery was the principal subject.

²⁸ *Clay to James F. Balcock and others*, December 17, 1844.

The question in its essence was this: Was the nation to take upon itself the support and perpetuation of slavery in Texas, and of the slave trade between the Southern States and the people of that government? The question was far-reaching, involving the very existence of the national government, and the very continuance of the Constitution. No one believed that the South would consent to give up one tittle of its hold on the administration of government, or one degree of its power in the national legislature. Dictatorial by training, and wielding a voting strength far beyond their due right, were the right of suffrage to be truly equal, the men from the South kept their authority by measures intolerable in a free country, by methods indefensible in character and tendency, and by threats indecently provocative of scenes in the floor of Congress at once debasing and disgraceful. Under the shelter of the Constitution as then interpreted, the South claimed protection to its peculiar institution, and compelled the North to meet its demands. When Calhoun asserted that the annexation of Texas was necessary to preserve the domestic institutions of the two countries—slavery in the United States and slavery in Texas—he gave away the whole question. Annexation would mean an extension and a perpetuation of slavery, an increase in the political influence of the slave holders, a continuance of the unholy alliance between North and South to maintain the compromise in the Constitution.

Of course, out-and-out annexationists could advance no arguments which were not on the lines favored by the South. Moderate annexationists could use the relations with Mexico, or other interested countries, as a means to secure delay; the eventuality would still foster the slave power. Jackson, Polk, Clay, Benton, Van Buren and others were willing or anxious to take Texas, and for one and the same end, however much they seemed to differ in arguments. Only the open opponents of annexation were able to argue freely though not always effectively. The contrast between two Massachusetts men on this side of the question was illuminative. Webster made three reported speeches during the campaign. In two of them

he spoke of Texas, but his references were by the way and perfunctory.²⁹ He opposed receiving Texas because he would "do nothing, now or at any time, that shall tend to extend the slavery of the African race on this continent." His speeches were on the tariff, a demand for protection, a permanent, settled, steady, protective policy. He made the Constitution a cover for this demand, and predicted the overthrow of the Constitution should Polk come into the Presidency. Did this result follow? Did not the course of history prove that the tariff issue was of little importance?

Against this course of Webster, place that of John Quincy Adams. He too made three addresses in the campaign. I use the word address advisedly, for campaign speeches they were not. It does not follow that they were not partisan, as Adams felt strongly the Whig side of the contest; but they were something more than partisan,—a personal defence, based upon documentary evidence, upon questions, profoundly affecting the position and tendency of the American States. They contained excellent historical material, expressed in vigorous language. The more important one was delivered at Boston,³⁰ and gave an account of the negotiations with Mexico for Texas, at once a defence against charges of traitorous conduct, an attack upon Andrew Jackson, and a protest against a war of aggression in behalf of slavery. The second was given at Braintree,³¹ and was a defence against the malicious attacks of Charles J. Ingersoll, and an exposition of the causes underlying the Texan question. The third was made at North Bridgewater on November 6, and summarized the essential principles of the campaign.³²

Adams occupied a solitary position, one that was his fate for the larger part of his public life. He was a Whig,

²⁹ At Philadelphia and Valley Forge, *Works*, II, 270, 291. Towards the end of the campaign he did become more expansive on the Texan question, but never left the tariff issue.

³⁰ Address to the Young Men's Whig Club of Boston, October 7. Printed in the *National Intelligencer*, October 12, 1844.

³¹ Published in Niles's *National Register*, LXVII, 154.

³² Printed in the *Boston Courier*, November, 9, 1844.

who did not hesitate to lash the leaders of that party in State and Nation. He was a supporter of Clay, yet openly critical of his policy and often doubtful of his availability. He could not accept the Liberty Party, and denounced the abolition methods. Such had been his course in the past that hardly an important act in his long and varied career received commendation. The treaty of Ghent, the Florida treaty and his Presidential policy were made the bases of serious charges against him; and his opposition to the extension of slavery while recognizing the legal rights of the States under the Constitution directed upon him the concentrated opposition of all parties and factions, the abolitionists as well as the regulars. Opposition called out his best powers. In Congress he was a master of parliamentary usage, and day after day proved the wrong-headedness of the majority by forcing them to go on record. Such a contest drawn out for months and years could not be fruitful of brilliant victories, and the contemporary view was that it was a futile struggle on his part, and crowned by a barren victory. Yet looking over the ground at this interval of time, the merit of his service and sacrifice becomes evident.³³

The period was politically one of transition. Feeling the increasing power of the economy of the North, the South struck out for some addition to its strength that should at least enable it to hold its own. Only two methods were possible, disunion or an increase of territory and consequent voting strength in the House. In either case slavery must be maintained as the institution of the southern states. To this time enough votes had been obtained from the North to enable the South to impose its policy upon the nation. It had been a long series of compromises, in which the tariff had played a very important part. The industries

³³Barton H. Wise, in the *Life of Henry A. Wise*, admits the tactical blunder of the South in raising the question of the right to petition. "As long as the right to petition seemed in any wise abridged, or denied, the anti-slavery party not only awakened the sympathies of many on that score, but were also constantly able to provoke discussion upon the abstract question of slavery; and thus through its existence in the District of Columbia were furnished, as Adams said, with a 'fulcrum for their lever, so much so that he declared he would not abolish slavery there, even if it were in his own power to do so.' "

of the North had sent to Congress men who yielded all to the South. But the rise of a free West threatened to throw over those compromises, and the old arguments no longer gave foundation for the old forms of agreement. Statesmanship could no longer rest upon an ability temporarily to harmonize North and South, or to transmute a protective duty into fugitive slave laws or gag rules. A Clay, who could hedge so skillfully as to face both ways, a Webster who could subsist on the bounty of manufacturers to do their bidding, were as much out of date as a Calhoun, waterlogged by his slavery views, or a Van Buren a northern man flirting with southern principles. Compromises had broken down.

While these men, and their like, were local in aim, Adams is almost the one man in public life who bulks large, on a national scale. He who had negotiated the Florida treaty, and alone in Monroe's Cabinet stood out for including Texas, could not be mistaken in the meaning to the South of annexation in 1844. That very treaty was now brought forward as a means of charging him with treachery to his country and to his trust. The charge was supported by southern men, with Jackson in the lead. The man who had deliberately left the Federalist party upon a question of principle, and had been the butt of the democracy of the Middle West, the Jacksonian democracy, had nothing to learn of partisan warfare. The despairing bitterness of dying Federalism and the exuberant strength and unrestrained coarseness of the new democracy had given him a varied experience in all forms of abuse. He had seen his own policy as President hooted out of court by his successors, and he returned to Congress with no backing other than was given by the handful of supporters in his district, and by his own unquestioned abilities and upright heart.

He possessed in a great measure a quality that is particularly exasperating,—an intelligently directed unexpectedness. He alone was able to speak the truth, no matter how unpalatable to friend and foe. While Polk was ringing all possible changes on Texas, and while Clay was striving to stem the current towards annexation by bending to its

force, Adams stated exactly what had been, was, and was to be. His learning and method made his exposition of telling and permanent weight. After 1844 it would be impossible to hold to the charge that Texas had been sacrificed by Adams in 1819, or that Jackson's course on that question had even a shadow of consistency to cover its naked weakness. After 1844 no one need have gone astray as to Jackson's fairness, his prejudices, or his intentions in his approaches to Texas. The plain statement of facts by Adams, touched as it was with an intense personal indignation, put an end to the flow of misrepresentation which served to cloak greed and political intrigue. The blow told where he wanted it most to tell. Jackson and his followers gasped, denounced "little Johnny Q," that wicked old man, that mendacious old scoundrel, and poured out replies that did everything but overthrow the cold facts so regularly marshalled by Adams. His progress in developing his attitude on slavery had been rapid, and had landed him in an unexpected position. The Missouri question of 1820 brought the question and its possibilities before him, but vaguely. Was it not Rufus King, one of the really able men of the day, who first pointed out to Adams the dire consequences lurking in that problem of statehood? After his Presidency he took his ground, and told the South that most unpalatable truth, the doom of slavery, and from that time he becomes the embodiment of that question. So much so that the movement to expel him from the House was based upon the idea that if he could be removed from the councils of the nation or silenced on the exasperating subject to which he was devoting himself none other could be found hardy enough to fill his place.³⁴

But he did not confine himself to criticism and denunciation of conduct; he had a remedy, which involved punishment to the South, in that it would deprive them of their special privilege of unequal representation. He saw the evil in the aristocratic provision of the Constitution that gave to a small number of whites in the slave states a dis-

³⁴Thomas T. Marshall, quoted in Quincy's *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 388.

proportionate share of political power on account of their property in their fellowmen. To him, this human chattel representation was the "fatal drop of prussic acid" in the Constitution of the United States, opposed to popular representation, to self-evident truths, and to the letter and spirit of the Constitution itself. It was not so much that each holder of slaves had substantially two votes, but that "every member representing slaves is bound in league offensive and defensive, with all the rest. Every member represents the whole mass. They are knit together in one line, while diverse interests and conflicting opinions distract the councils of the other portion of the House, and always surrender the cause of freedom to the congregated representatives of slavery."³⁵ This was the situation in the Senate, in the Executive and in the Judiciary as well as in the House. Was it not true courage that inspired him to attack a policy so strongly intrenched?

The system of representation in the national legislature was indefensibly wrong. That a slaveholder and five slaves should exercise four times the political influence of a free-man was a condition only equal to the rotten borough system in England in the eighteenth century. Even if a good word could be said in its favor in 1788, no good word could be said in its behalf in 1844. It involved an inequality that was vitally oppressive and of unending mischief in the political life of the Nation.³⁶ It was a Massachusetts man³⁷ who stated in a public report that slave representation was "effecting, by slow but sure degrees, the overthrow of all the noble principles that were embodied in the Federal Constitution," and the Massachusetts legislature asked for the repeal of the clause in the Constitution providing for the representation of slaves. Adams welcomed the support as giving him the first and probably the last opportunity of giving to the world his deliberate opinion

³⁵ *Adams to Seward*, May 10, 1844. MS.

³⁶ In April, 1844, John Quincy Adams wrote "the standing supremacy of the slave representation is 112, a bare majority of the House, consisting of 80 slave-holders and thirty-two free-trade auxiliaries." *Memoirs*, XII, 14.

³⁷ Charles Francis Adams. See also his pamphlet, *Texas and the Massachusetts Resolutions*, Boston, 1844.

upon so disastrous a feature of American political institutions.³⁸

What then did the campaign of 1844 solve? Not the annexation of Texas, because that measure was already assured in spite of the decent attitude of delay or reserve some of the leaders might assume. Not questions of tariff, bank, distribution or land sales, for no popular mandate could dictate the details of measures in which private interests were predominant. The personality of Polk meant nothing, not so much in fact as the personality of the defeated candidate, Clay. Yet there was then decided one of the most momentous issues in our history. North was at last pitted against South, and the struggle for supremacy was to last for sixteen years, under constantly aggravating friction. The policy of the South was determined beyond any change, and it only asked an impossibility—to be allowed to work out its destiny without aid, counsel or interference from the North. The situation made it impossible for Polk to recognize the Van Buren wing of his party. No follower of Van Buren was given a place in the Cabinet, or received an office which gave access to the President. Marcy was an opponent to Van Buren; Buchanan had plotted against him; and both were willing to vote for what the South desired. The split in the party was not to be healed, and the old leaders went down before it. A younger generation was coming forward, men like Seward, Giddings and Chase, who would be in at the death of this issue of slavery, themselves leaders in a new party, and themselves disciples of John Quincy Adams. Turn the hands of the clock on a little. The homely and direct pronouncement of Lincoln, "The Nation cannot exist half slave, half free," could have been uttered by Adams, for it expressed his opinion. The

³⁸ With Joshua R. Giddings, Adams prepared the minority report on these resolutions of the Massachusetts Legislature, 28th Cong. 1 sess. House Report 404. The incident is of high interest. The committee appointed by the House to consider these resolutions consisted of nine members, Adams, Rhett, (for whom Burt was substituted) J. R. Ingersoll, Gilmer, Garrett Davis, Burke, Sample, Morse and Giddings. Six reports were presented: Giddings joined with Adams, Burt with Gilmer Davis with Ingersoll, and individual reports were made by Burke, Sample and Morse. It would be difficult to find a similar instance of discrepant views.

freeing of the slaves under stress of war and an armed occupation of the southern states, was only a fulfilment of Adam's assertion of emancipation under martial law. With the disappearance of slavery also went the chattel representation in Congress, and so the "drop of prussic acid" was extracted from the Constitution. "The moral question of the North American revolution," said Adams, "was one and the same with that of the institution of domestic slavery. It is a question between might and right, between the law of justice and the law of force." The campaign of 1844 marked the culminating point in Adams's career, and leaves him in high relief as the statesman of that time.

SOME CUSTOMS OF THE MACHEYENGAS.

BY WILLIAM CURTIS FARABEE.¹

What I shall say will be appropriate in an Antiquarian Society if we bear in mind the fact that the customs which I describe have come down from a more or less remote antiquity.

Primitive man—not earliest man, but man in a low stage of cultural development—is to so large an extent a creature of his environment that any study of his customs must be preceded by some account of the conditions under which he has lived and developed these particular customs.

The Macheyengas, of whose customs I wish to speak, inhabit the greater part of the region lying between the foot-hills of the Cordillera and the upper Ueayali and Urubamba rivers, in Eastern Peru, from latitude 11° to 13° south. A country covered with dense forests and traversed by many rapid rivers, which are navigated by balsa and canoe with considerable difficulty. Where it is not possible to travel by canoe, trails follow the rivers, crossing and recrossing from sand-bar to sand-bar, never leaving the river to any great distance.

Their houses are built along these rivers where there is fertile land for cultivation. There are no villages or towns, but often three or four families build their houses in a group, a few hundred yards apart. About each house is a small *chacara*, or clearing, where plantains, yuca, etc., grow from year to year. Wild game and fish are plentiful and add substantially to the food supply. The climate is so warm

¹ Director of the DeMilhau Peabody Museum, South American Exposition, 1906-1909.

that little or no clothing is needed. Wants are few and so easily supplied that the daily routine of life requires very little thought. The view is limited to the size of the chacara. They can travel in but two directions—up and down river. There is plenty of room and food for all, so there is practically no warfare. Having no tribal organization, the people are never brought together in large groups. Hence there is no contact, no rivalries, no contests, no stimulus to thought or action. They live out their simple easy lives and die, but are not buried.

By many authorities, it is believed that religion first manifested itself in the care of the dead—that religion was born at the grave. If so, then the very first traces of religion are found near the end of the Paleolithic period, for here we discover some evidence of the burial of the dead.

It is quite probable that the religious consciousness was a very slow development, and that even these earliest burials had no religious significance but were for the mere purpose of disposing of the offensive body from which they had no other easy escape. The attitude towards the dead was not that of terror as was true later on when belief in souls and ghosts had arisen. Then, in order to care for these souls, there grew up in many parts of the world elaborate funeral rites. Among many peoples the whole life is one round of religious observances which end only when the body has been disposed of and offerings made to the souls of the dead.

The Macheyengas are singularly free from these religious ceremonies. They have no fear of the dead, even handle the body with impunity and dispose of it without ceremony. When one of their number dies, they make a litter of two long poles with cross sticks. Two men take the body by the head and the feet and place it on the litter. Then they carry it upon their shoulders to the river and throw it in. The body is dressed as in life, with nothing but the *cushma*, a sleeveless, shirt-like, cotton garment which reaches below the knees. No weights are used to sink the body, so the rapid current carries it away to be eaten by the fish or buried in the sands.

There is no ceremony whatsoever in connection with the dead,—at the house or at the river. When friends happen to be present they usually carry away the body as an act of courtesy. If no one else is there, two members of the family do it. No one accompanies the two men to the river and no ceremony is performed while they are gone. There is no reverence for the body. It is thrown into the river just as a dead dog or kitchen refuse is thrown in, at the same place and apparently for the same reason. It is the most convenient and at the same time the most hygienic method of disposing of the dead.

When one member of the family dies the others desert the home and build another some distance away. They never return to the house, but if they have no other chacara they may return for food until the new chacara is ready to use—a period of eight or ten months. After that time another family may take possession of the chacara and live in the house. When a small child dies they throw the corpse into the river, but do not leave the house. In order to end the sufferings of helpless old persons and those about to die of some incurable disease, they throw them into the river while they are yet alive. However, they take very good care of their sick and infirm so long as there is any hope of recovery.

They leave the house because they are afraid of the disease that took away the other member of the family, and for no other reason. The case of the child would seem to be an exception, but the adults have no fear of children's diseases. No ceremonies are performed when leaving the old home or when building the new one. As they have no belief in ghosts or in the return of the soul, there is no reason to fear the soul of the departed. Aside from their positive statements, the fact that others may and do live in the same house after a short time is evidence that they have no fear of the house or of spirits about the house.

Among some branches of the tribe those killed in warfare are buried, while the common people are thrown into the river. A grave four or five feet deep is dug near the place where the man fell. The body, dressed in the cushma,

is laid on its back at full length and covered with leaves, poles, and earth. Nothing is placed in the grave with the body. No marker is used and no mound is heaped over the grave.

Again, among some branches the small children are carried up into the hills and buried among the rocks while all others are thrown into the river. They were unable to give any explanation for these two exceptions to the general rule.

They have a tradition, that a long time ago the body of a Macheyenga was buried and watch kept to see if there was a soul and if so what became of it. In the morning of the eighth day they saw a red deer jump up from the grave and run away into the forest. Since then they have believed that the souls of Macheyengas always enter the red deer. They do not know what becomes of the souls of other men, but they do not enter the red deer.

They never eat the flesh of the deer but have no objection to others doing so. They even kill it themselves and give it to others to eat. It is in no way treated as a sacred animal. When the cooked flesh is offered to a Macheyenga he makes signs as though the thought of eating it made him sick.

From the tradition it would seem that they should believe the soul becomes a red deer—that man lives again in the form of a deer. They did not see the soul enter the deer but saw the deer rise from the grave. On this point they are quite clear. The man dies, and it makes no difference whether his body is buried or is thrown into the river, his soul enters the deer and that is the end of all. Neither the soul nor the body ever lives again. It does not become the deer, neither is it the soul of the deer, for it has a soul of its own. Asked what becomes of the soul, an Indian answers, "It goes into 'mān'ro', the red deer." Asked what then becomes of it, he answers, "Nothing, that is the end of it when it enters the deer."

They have no conception of the origin of "sēlē'tcē", the soul, nor any very definite idea of what it is. It is something besides "īcē'dē", or life, that animals have in common with men and that rivers do not have. It is never seen and

has nothing to do with life, sleep, disease or death. It is an intangible something that leaves the body at death and enters the deer.

They believe in "Idiō'cī", the big man in "engr'ta", the sky. He made man, the sun, the moon, etc., in some way, they know not how nor when. At present he has very little to do with the world except to thunder at the beginning and the end of the seasons, and to send the rain. He takes no more care of men than of the animals. He does not reward the good or punish the evil, consequently he is neither adored nor propitiated. Their attitude towards him is much the same as his towards them—one of indifference. They make no offerings nor prayers and have no ceremonies, no feasts, no sacred dances, no ceremonial objects, no charms, no fetishes. There is no communion between themselves and any spirit. They are uncontrolled in the slightest degree by any power or influence outside of themselves. Thus they live, remarkably free from the conventions and restraints of custom and religion.

Louisbourg July 26th: 1745

Sir

It is my express order to you that the Rules
and Orders for the good Regulation of this
Place, which I now send you to peruse, be
duly put in Execution by all parties con-
cerned. I have ordered Copies of them to
be put up on a Board, at the several Grand
Houses for every persons perusal, and it
will be necessary that every person take
a Copy thereof — I am &c. your Obedt. Servt
J^{ms} Pepperrell

Wm Hale

THE JOURNAL OF
SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL

KEPT DURING THE
EXPEDITION AGAINST LOUISBOURG

MAR. 24-AUG. 22, 1745

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL
IN THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY
BY CHARLES HENRY LINCOLN



PREFATORY NOTE.

The campaign against Louisbourg of which an account is given in the following Journal was one of the most noteworthy military efforts of the British Colonies in America prior to the outbreak of their war for independence. Participated in by soldiers from the New England colonies alone, the campaign had been the object of correspondence between Gov. William Shirley of Massachusetts and other provincial governors as far west as Pennsylvania and all America felt a peculiar interest in the outcome of the expedition, because of the fact that no land forces of the Mother Country had a share in the enterprise. The support of the British fleet was considered unessential and the ensuing success became a lesson to the American colonies in that it impressed them with the idea of their power when united. Followed by the military training of the later wars with France in America, the lesson of the Louisbourg expedition was never forgotten.

The war of 1744, known in America as King George's war, had been declared by France on Mar. 15, but was not proclaimed in Boston until June 2. Meanwhile Canso had been taken on May 13 by a force of 900 men sent out from Louisbourg, and this was followed by an expedition against Annapolis from the same post. The second effort was foiled by the vigilance of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts who had reached the conclusion that a forward movement was the best line of defense and was planning the attack upon Cape Breton Island. Communicating his designs to the various New England governors or legislatures in January 1745, he wrote also to Commodore Peter Warren then in command of the British fleet in the West Indies with the result that by March the expedition was ready to set sail for Louisbourg.

It has been questioned whether or not Shirley originated the plan for this forward movement. By some the credit has been given to Judge Robert Auchmuty and by others to William Vaughan. The opening statement of the Pepperrell Journal seems to leave no doubt but that the author considered Shirley as the prime mover in the enterprise. Although in his letter of Nov. 4, 1745, to Capt. Henry Stafford (Preface to *An Accurate Journal and Account*) Pepperrell states "it must be confessed that there would have been no Expedition against this Place, had I not undertook it," these words may well be taken as referring to the general satisfaction felt with the selection of the writer as Commander-in-Chief for the expedition and the interest which he took in forwarding Shirley's plans. Pepperrell claimed that he contributed some £10,000 to the expenses of the campaign, and the expenditure of Massachusetts was much heavier. In the letter already quoted Pepperrell urged that the colony should be reimbursed for the debt incurred lest she "be so involved as never to be able to get clear of it." This was done some four years later when Great Britain, after handing Louisbourg back to France, gave the colonies nearly £200,000 for their share of the expense of its capture.

Pepperrell's eagerness to lead the expedition is queried by Hutchinson (*Hist. Mass. Bay II*, 412) who states that he "was rather pressed into the service than voluntarily engaged." However this may be, the former declared after the capture, "As I had the Honour to command the Troops that were the Means of reducing the Place I dont think it can be expected that I should continue here under the command of another person." The news of the outcome of the campaign was received with pride in England. Warren was made an admiral, Shirley and Pepperrell given commissions as colonels, and the latter, in addition, was created a baronet, the only native of New England, as Parsons states in his life of Pepperrell, so honored during America's connection with the Mother Country. These honors might well be given to the participants in this victory. The capture of Louisbourg was

the one brilliant success gained by Great Britain during the war.

The Journal of the Expedition here printed was presented to the American Antiquarian Society April 27, 1818, by Dr. George Bates of Boston. The manuscript covers 40 pages and is in the hand of Benjamin Green, Secretary to Pepperrell during the campaign. None of the original journals or accounts of the enterprise gives a more complete record of the movements of the American forces and so far as known it is the most important journal remaining unpublished at this time. In printing, the arrangement of the manuscript has been followed except that a few entries, misplaced in the original text have here been given in their chronological sequence.

A short bibliography of the expedition giving some of the more important publications has been added, but no attempt has been made to cite all volumes dealing with this campaign against Louisbourg.

WALDO LINCOLN,
FRANKLIN P. RICE,
NATHANIEL PAINE,

Library Committee.



THE SIR WILLIAM PEPPERRELL JOURNAL.

Sometime in the Month of January, [1744-5]¹ an Expedition was concerted by the Province of [Massachusetts] Bay, against Louisbourg.

A Proclamation was Issued for the enlistment of 30[00]² effective men; which enlistment was compleated & enlarged by the 25 of March following—

These Troops were divided into Regiments [under] the Command of the following Colonels:³

Over whom the Hon^{ble}. Lt. General Pepperrell⁴ was ap[pointed] to Command in Chief.

The Colony of Connecticut raised for y^e Same Exp^d. 500 [men] commanded by Maj^r. Gen. Woolcot.⁵

¹ Words within brackets have been supplied by the editor.

² Other writers give 3,250 as the number of men in the Massachusetts contingent and this exclusive of commissioned officers. These figures may explain the "compleated and enlarged" enlistment mentioned in the text.

³ The list of Colonels mentioned is not given in the text nor is it found in any other contemporary journal of the expedition. Usher Parsons in his *Life of Pepperrell* prints a list of officers, and another list prepared by Charles Hudson was published in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October 1870. Mr. Hudson continued his work and in the *Register* for July 1871 gave a list of the privates engaged in the expedition so far as they could be identified. The best list of participants is that in the appendix to the *Pepperrell Papers* (6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 497). There is no adequate list of the sea forces engaged. A few of the seamen are mentioned by Hudson, and the officers and crews of the *Caesar* and *Fame* are in the *Register* for April 1905 but, in general, the names of the officers and crews of the British and Colonial vessels engaged are to be ascertained only by consultation of widely scattered sources of information.

⁴ Pepperrell held commissions from three Colonial governments. His commission from Governor Shirley was dated Jan. 31, 1744-5 and on March 19 he was given power to hold court-martials and appoint officers therefor.

⁵ Roger Woolcot or Woleott was second in command, with rank of Major-General, and was in immediate command of the Connecticut forces. Of the Brigadier-Generals, Samuel Waldo, commanding the 2d Massachusetts Regiment, was from the Maine district and Joseph Dwight of Boston led the Ancient and Honorable Artillery.

The Province of New Hampshire raised 350 men commanded by Col. Sam^l. Moor.

New Hampshire had no general officers. A part of her contingent was enlisted in a Massachusetts regiment and the remainder was commanded by Col. Samuel More or Moore. The report of the Adjutant General of New Hampshire for 1866 gives the rolls of the soldiers from that colony, and the Shirley account under date of April 25, gives the number of the Connecticut forces as 516, including commissioned officers.

JOURNAL OR MINUTES MADE IN AN EXPEDITION
AGAINST LOUISBOURG. ANNO DOMINI 1745.

Lords Day This morning Commodore Rouse⁶ gave a signal
March 24. for weighing anchor.

1744/5. About noon M^r. Hutchinson bro't orders from
his Excel. for sailing.

Ab^t. 4 P. M. the fleet under convoy of Com.
Rouse [set] sail from King Road⁷ for Cape
Breton —

Fair Weather but greasy in W. Board. W^d.
N. W. b N. —

Abt. 10 veer'd out to N. E. Fresh gale all night.
Course E. b. N.

M. Mar. 25. This morning found ourselves ab^t. 10 leag⁶.
from [Cape] Cod; C [oast] bearing W. Fleet all
well, tho' pretty much scatter'd by last nights
gale. Abt. 8 in y^e morn. a signal gun, for
bearing up & then stood in for land. Course
N. W. b N. Wind out, Weather fair. P. M.
Wind veering to the S. E. alter'd our course and
stood off N. E. b E. All n^t. lay the shore along.
In the morning was abt. 20 leag^s. E. of C [ape]
Elizabeth.

T. Mar. 26. This morning the wind pretty fresh at S. E. a
signal gun was fired. The Com^{dor}. bore away

⁶Commodore John Rouse or Rous, the latter being the seaman's own spelling, held commission from Massachusetts but obtained a later commission of Captain in the royal service. Edward Tyng, in command of the frigate *Massachusetts*, was the senior provincial naval officer acting under Shirley's commission. He had seen service in the previous year against French privateers and on May 24, 1744, had been thanked by the town of Boston. At the time of sailing Rous commanded the convoy galley, *Shirley*.

⁷The Nantasket of to-day.

N. for the land & presently discover'd the White Hills. P. M. It was determin'd to go to Sheeps-cot. The wind fresh S. E. & look't like dirt.⁸ Abt. 5 came to an Anchor in Sheeps-cot harbour, abt. a league within the Chops or ent[rance] & there lay this n^t.

Wd. Mar. 27 The fleet lay at Sheeps-cot. A. M. Wind S. E. P. M. E. Foggy, some rain.

Th. Mar. 28 At Sheeps-cot. A. M. A severe gale at N. E. with rain & sleet. Abt. noon wind veer'd into the N. & blew very hard.

Fr. Mar. 29 At 9 this morning the fleet sailed from Sheeps-cot. W^d. abt. N. W. midling gale. Fair weath^r. but very cold. Course E. S. E. P. M. W^d. Western'd, an easie gale all n^t. Towards morn. W^d. abt. S. [Fleet] was now abt. middle of B [ay of] Fundy.

Sat. This morning blew fresh at S. with rain, & made
Mar. 30 a very sharp sea which contin'd. all day. Abt. 10 this n^t. ship't a pretty deal of water, wet our Chest on deck, some concern, but in a few hours after, the Lord was pleas'd to moderate the w^d. & weath^r. & the storm was turn'd into a calm.

Lords Day This day foggy. A. M. Small air at S. E. Abt.
Mar. 31 5 P. M. a glin at W. & in the evening cleared up all fair but before midnight came in thick of fog [with] the w^d. at E. & threatned us with another storm; but the Lord was better to us than our fears.

Mond. Thick weath^r. W^d. S. E. & so continued till
Apr. 1. noon. Then veer'd to W. with thick fog & a tumbling sea. Distance fr. Cape Sable abt. 20 l [eagues]. Course all nt. S. E. By reason of bad weather, the fleet except a few seperated.

⁸ This expression frequently used in sailors' logs of this date is the equivalent of the more modern dirty or disagreeable weather.

Tu. Apr. 2. This morning W^d, W. N. W. Fair weather. Course E. N. E. Abt. 10, bro't too for a sloop y^t made a signal of distress. Abt. 12 made Cape Sable & stood in for the land; at this time we had abt. 20 Sail of the fleet in sight. P. M. Run down by the land; at sunsett was off LaHave abt. 4 l[eagues] dist^{nce}. Stood along shore this n^t. Course E. b. N. Wind W. N. W. Fair weath^r.

W. Apr. 3. Abt. an hour before day y^e wind came abt. at N. E. and blew fresh, thick of snow & very cool so could not lay our course. Abt. sunrise tack't & stood in N. W. for the land; in abt. 2 or 3 hours the wind shifted, weath^r. cleared up & being off Malagash [Mirlegash] tack't, stood along shore E. N. E. Abt. one of y^e clock y^e W^d. came up fresh at S. W. Abt. 4 was abreast off Cape Sambrough (45 leag^s. fr Canso). Stood along shore this n^t. W^d. S. W. b W. pretty breeze, fair weath^r. Course N. E.

Th. Apr. 4. Wind W. b. S. Course E. N. E. run by Liscomb harb^r. In Harb^r. White Head, White Point & abt. 4 P. M. arrived at Canso Harb^r. where we found many sail of our fleet arrived safe. Twelve sail of New Hampshire vessels with their troops⁹. Capt. T[yng] in the Mass [achu-setts] F[rigate and Capt.] Donehoe with a sloop who had taken sundry Indians at Owls Head which Ind^s. were examined this evening on board Com. Rouse.

Fr. Apr. 5. This day lay at Canso. W^d. E. b. S. Look't like dirt, very raw and cold. Capt. Fletcher in a brig belonging to y^e P[rovince] bro't in here y^s day a Martinico sloop, bound for Louisb.

⁹ Shirley, in his journal, states that 304 New Hampshire troops, inclusive of commissioned officers, arrived four days earlier at Canso. Rous was in command of the *Shirley* on which the examination of the Indians was conducted. The name Donehoe is given elsewhere as Donehaw and Donahew. Possibly Capt. Philip Donahoe is intended.

which he took a few days since off C. Breton. She was loaden'd with rum molasses etc. Capt. [Jonathan] Snelling came in y^s day. A Council of War held y^s day on Canso Hill.—

Sat. Lay at Canso. Rainy. W^d. at E. Men begin
Apr. 6. to sicken.

Lords Day At Canso. Showry. A. M. W^d. out. P. M.
Apr. 7. W^d. N. Preparation made for y^e several detach-
ments for attacking Louisb.

Mond. At Canso, Fair Weath^r. W^d. S. W. Fresh gale
Apr. 8. & cool; several of our transports y^t were seperated
from the Com [modore] by bad weather came in
this evening.

Tu. Apr. 9. At Canso. N. E. W^d. Some snow & very raw
and cold. Whilst we lay here the army was
preparing cartridges etc. and detachments [were]
drawn out for the several attacks intended to be
made on the several parts of the City of Louisb.

W. Apr. 10. At Canso. N. E. W^d. Dry, very cold.

Th. At Canso. W^d. N. b. W. Fresh gale, pretty
Apr. 11. cold. 6 or 7 of our transports y^t were sep^{ted}
by storm arrived here this day. C [apt.] Fletch-
er's prize vessel sailed with a packet of letters
for Boston.

Fr. At Canso. A. M. W^d. E. b. S. Lowry. P. M.
Apr. 12. A storm of snow. C [apt.] Donehoe sent to the
Gut of Canso. Several shallows seen off S^t.
Piere; G [eneral Pepperrell] ill, conf^d. to b [ed?].

Sat. At Canso. Showry with thunder. W^d. E. b. S.
Apr. 13. Several canon heard at a distance. Fleet order'd
to sail tomorrow morning if wind & weather
permit—A block house erected here.

Lords D. At Canso. Rainy. Something warm^r. W^d. N.
Apr. 14. b. W. This evening Capt. Donehoe came in
here from y^e Gut of Canso & bro't in with him

3 Indian men, 2 wom. & 3 childr. whom he took yesterday at y^e Gut. The 3 men were bro't to [the] G [eneral] & being seperately examined, declared that the inhabitants of St. Peters was alm^t. all drawn off etc. A Council of War was called, wherein it was unanimously agreed that y^e intended att. on S^t. P. sh^d. be deferr'd & that those forces sh^d. attend y^e main body to Cabbarouse [Gabarus] Bay and that Doneh. sh^d. proceed a few leagues before the fleet to prevent our Discovery from Foshce & St. Esprit. Orders [to] sail at break of day if w^d. & weath^r. permit. —

M. Apr. 15. This morning the W^d. failing, the fleet do not proceed as intended. Calm in y^e morn. P. M. W^d. S. W. Weath^r. serene & y^e most moderate day we have had since our arr. at Canso. Cpts. [Sylvanus?] Cobb & B [ush] in 2 whale boats sent to St. Peters, but by reason of ice there was prevented landing.

T. Apr. 16. At Canso. Foggy, Rainy W^d. E. b. S.

W. Apr. 17. At Canso. A. M. W^d. N. N. W. P. M. W^d. S. b. W. Showry weather, moderate. Abt. 10 Capt. Fletcher bro't in a prize brig. (lately Capt. Loring) from Martinico bound to Louisb. loaden'd with rum molasses & coffee. She was taken yesterday morning abt. 10 [cagues] fr. hence in the ice. This prize brig. lately took a fishing schooner on B [lack Point?] Bank which she order'd into Louisb. There was another brig in company bound for Canada. A sail being seen off [shore, Cpts.] Donehoe, Becket, Swan etc. were sent out —

Th. Apr. 18. At Canso. W. N. b. W. Rainy & cool. A sea chase and fight between Canso & Petidegrat by our cruisers and a French ship. 9 of our vessels were after her but she outsailed them

& escaped—[Capts.] Donehoe & Swan bro't in a French brig,¹⁰ which they took a leag. or 2 off this place this afternoon. Com. Rouse went out at 2 P. M. after y^e ship y^t appeared in the bay, but thick weather & night came on so that he lost her; next morning got sight again & gave chase but c^d not come up with her.

Fr. At Canso. W^d. N. W. b. N. Something cloudy.
Apr. 19. Many guns heard off [shore]. Smither's mate bro't in a Cape Ann schooner, which he retook at Cabbarouse [Gabus Bay].

Sat. At Canso. This morning clear, W^d. S. W.
Apr. 20. Rouse continued out. Furnel [Capt. John Fernald] bro't in a Boston schooner one [Capt. William] Adams mast^r. which sd. Furnel retook at Cabbarouse.

Lords D. At Canso W^d. S. E. Rainy. Col. [Edward]
Apr. 21. Eveleth in a schooner with 70 men sent to St. Peters [being] piloted by a French prison^r. taken a few days belonging to St. Peters. 4 men ashore for wood & water were surprised & fired upon & taken by 2 Frenchmen & an Indian sent fr. St. Peters & being carried away some miles, arose upon the Frenchmen & took them & bro't them in with their arms; y^e Indian made his escape.
[Capts.] Donehoe & Becket sent to the Bay of Vert.

M. At Canso. W^d. S. W. A hard gale. Snow
Apr. 22. squall, very cool. This evening Capt. Dorrell,¹¹ in the Eltham, a 40 gun ship arriv^d. here in 6 days from Piscataqua.

¹⁰ This was the *Renomée*, a French ship of war of 30 guns, having a crew of 300 seamen and 50 marines and charged with government dispatches. An account of the chase of the French ship is given in a letter of Capt. Edward Tyng to Pepperrell, received April 21. 6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 126.

¹¹ Capt. Dorrell is probably Capt. Philip Durell, although Charnock (*Biographia Navalis* IV, 262; London, 1796.) gives John Durell as captain of the *Eltham* at this time.

- Tu. At Canso. W^d. N. W. Fair weath^r. This
Apr. 23. morning our people (that were sent to St. Peters
on Lords Day night) returned & bro't with
them a little French sloop loaden'd with wood.
Three of our men wounded there by the enemy.
Commodore Warren appeared in the offin this
morning with a 60 & two 40 gun ships; they an-
chor'd off the harb^r. a league or two; tarried alm^t.
all day.¹² In the evening came to sail & stood
off for Louisbourg. — Capt Furnel sent out to
St. Peters harb^r.
- Wed. At Canso. A. M. W^d. N. W. b. N. P. M. W^d.
Apr. 24. S. W. Fair weather. Abt. break of day a
signal was given for sailing, but y^e wind
failing, they desisted. Abt. 8 y^s morn. the
Connecticut forces appeared in sight and
at 11 they came into y^e harb^r. There was
also in comp^y. a Rhoad Island sloop Capt.
[Daniel] Fones with 14 g [uns] & 90 men. Yes-
terday morning Fones was chased off at Popes
Head into the sea by a French ship who fired
at Fones [but] being a good sailor he soon got
out of sight. The remaind^r. of y^e fleet stood
along their course to Canso. Capt. Swan dis-
patch't at noon with an express to Com. Warren
off Louisbourg.
- Th. At Canso. W^d. S. b. E. Cool weather &
Apr. 25. rainy.
- Fri. At Canso. A. M. W^d. N. W. Rainy. P. M.
Apr. 26. Veer'd to S. Capt^s. Rouse & Fones went out
to look for the French ship that chased Fones
supposed to be abt. 30 l[eagues] Westward.
C [apt.] Swan returned from Com. Warren, with
a letter informing us he had taken a sloop,

¹²Warren Commanded the *Superb* of 60 guns. The two 40-gun vessels were the *Launceston*, Capt. W[illiam?] Calmody and the *Mermaid*, Capt. James Douglass. The appearance of Warren was a welcome surprise to Pepperrell, as on leaving Boston he was unaware that the British captain had received orders for Louisbourg.

- schooner & shallop. The Com [modore] sailed so near to y^e town y^t y^y fired 12 guns at him.
- Sat. At Canso. A. M. W^d. S. b. W. Foggy. P. M.
 Apr. 27. S. W. b. W. At 7 y^s. even. signal given for weighing anchor— Now calm.
- Lords D. At Canso. A. M. W^d. E. N. E. Fresh gale but
 Apr. 28. dry, a fog bank off [shore]. P. M. W^d. E. b. S. Foggy. One of our men of war seen off our Harb^r.
- M.
 Apr. 29. This morning between 5 & 6 the fleet sailed from Canso for Louisb. Small W^d. at N. W. b. N^e. Course out of Canso harb^r. E. to clear y^e ledges which are abt. 4 miles distance from y^e land. Then our course along shore E. N. E. Abt. 9 or 10 calm awhile & abt. noon a breeze from the shore, the most warm & pleasant day since our arrival on this coast. 4 or 5 vessels with their comp^y. under the command of Col. [Jeremiah] Moulton order'd to attack St. Peters y^s day.¹³ A brig sent off with stores for the fleet. St. Piere, St. Esprit & Foshee, small French settlements between Canso & Louisb. [were destroyed.]
- P. M. Came up with Com. Warren & y^e rest of his fleet at sea abt. 6 leagues fr. Cabb. [Gabarus Bay].¹⁴ Here we heard of Capt. Tyngs engaging a French ship on Thursday n^t. in which action he lost one man. The Frenchman had a boy killed in his bed, but y^e ship got in safe to Louisb.
- Tu.
 Apr. 30. Abt. 9 y^s morning the fleet came to an anchor in Cabbarouse Bay abt. 2 miles above Flat

¹³ Shirley: "270 men sent to St. Peters." These appear to have been New Hampshire men and were sent under convoy of a sloop in the pay of that colony. Col. Jeremiah Moulton was from York County in Maine. As a result of the expedition the fort was destroyed, the houses burned to the ground and the first advantage of the siege obtained. See entry for Monday, May 6.

¹⁴ The bay of anchorage is given in the Shirley account, as well as in this text, as Chapeaurouge, Cabbarouse and Cabarus. It is better known by the French name, Gabarus.

Point. Here we saw the light house & y^e steeples in the town! Whilst we were preparing to land, a large party of y^e enemy appeared in arms on Flat Point, near which place i. e. at Flat P. Cove, a numb^r. of boats with souldiers were order'd to land, but coming near to y^e shore found it impracticable. In the meantime many other a consid^{ble}. number were order'd to land immediately abt. 2 miles above. The enemy soon discovered them & immediately marched precipitately to the place to prevent them but our men was too quick for them. Some of our men that first landed immediately marched down towards the enemy & soon met them, fired upon them, killed & wounded some & took others prisoners. The enemy soon turned their backs & ran, in order to recover y^e city. Mort-pong¹⁵ who command^d was among them. We were covered in our landing by C[apts.] Fletcher, Bush & [Thomas] Saunders who fired their canon smartly on the enemy as they were approaching the place of our landing.

While y^s was transacting the French rang the bells & fired their canon in the city — Upon the return of the French party y^t escaped, they burnt many of the houses that stood near the outside of the west gate of the city. We saw the smoakes arise — Towards evening most of the transports moved up to the head of the Bay, it being much smoother & safer riding there. P. M. Fair weather, fresh S. W. wind. Abt. 2000 men on shore y^s n^t. —

Wed. This morning many more landed,¹⁶ & abt. noon,
May 1. the army proceeded towards the town & camp

¹⁵ The name is given as Morepang by Shirley and in the "Accurate Journal and Account." The better spelling is that of the anonymous "Lettre d'un Habitant" where it is stated that M. Morpain was at this time Capitaine de Port at Louisbourg.

¹⁶ The Shirley account gives more details as to the difficulties of landing stores and artillery, and the expedition against North East Harbor is described as of May 2.

abt. $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the town. W^d. S. W. Fair weather. Several prisoners brought in this day — A detachment of 4 or 500 men went to N. E. Harb^r. burnt their houses, & bro't off some hund^d. quint^{ls}. of fish — Many cows taken & several horses — Our ships took a store ship from France.

Th. This morning W^d. N. b. W. Cool. 2 prisoners
May 2. bro't in from N. E. Harb^r. The enemy having deserted the Royal Battery our people entred it y^s morning & found they had spike't up the canon, removed the powder & done other damages.¹⁷ Removed our camps, the enemy's ball, having disturb'd us the last n^t. An alarm y^s n^t.

This morning went up the W[est] Hill near the town, viewed the town, and battery, & Light House. Whilst I was there 4 shalloways full of French, went in full view from the town towards the Royal Battery. A few (abt. 13) of our people being on the shore near the R. Batt. fired briskly on those shalloways, which fire the French returned from the shalloways & they fired also with their canon from the town, but however the enemy's hearts failed [and they] dared not proceed to y^e R. Batt. where y^v were bound to bring off their effects, but put back again to the town.

The enemy finding we were in possession of the

¹⁷ In its account of the capture of the Royal Battery the Shirley journal refers to it as the Grand Battery and places the event one day later than the record here given Pepperrell in his letters to Warren refers to the battery under each name but later references usually prefer the designation, Grand Battery. This fortification was on the shore of Louisbourg harbor, about half-way to North East Harbor, taken the preceding day. With the battery, the Colonial troops obtained 30 cannon, a large amount of ammunition and practical control of the inner harbor. From this point, indeed, an effective fire could be maintained against the city itself, and the mortars located at first on the Green Hills in the rear of the newly captured fortress, were moved nearer the shore and were able to reach the city as shown by the entry for May 4. In a word, the city was open to attack from two sides in place of one, a range of less than 500 yards was secured, and unless relieved by water its capture was but a question of time.

R[oyal] B[attery] fired briskly all day on them with their canon & mortars, but did no damage.

Fr.
May 3.

A. M. W^d. S. W. Look't like dirt— 5 Prisoners bro't in y^s day. An alarm. Our people at the G [rand] Batt. played on the town with one canon. 3 of our shot entred y^e Intendants house & put the women & child. to the cry which our people heard. Our mortars were halled up to the ground where y^v were to play, which was at y^e W. Gate abt. $\frac{3}{4}$ distance.

Sat.
May 4.

Fair weath^r. W^d. S. W. P. M. Our mortars began to play upon the town, which were answered immediately by y^e enemy's canon from the town. Several prisoners bro't in—91 shot sent from G [rand] Batt [ery] to the town by our people. The enemy played on the G. Batt. with their mortars from the Island Battery & their canon from the town.

Lords D.
May 5.

Fair weather. W^d. fresh S. W. St. Peters fleet i. e. Col. Moulton & those vessels that were with him, arrived at Cabbarouse (Gabarus Bay). One of the canon at G. Batt. split & wounded 5 of our men. Eleven prisoners bro't in this n^t. Not much canonading this day on either side. Mr. [Rev. Elisha] Williams preach't fr. Ps^{ms}. [CXVIII,9.] It is better to trust in the Lord yⁿ to put confidence in Princes. Killed & dresst 5 neat cattle to send off to Com. Warren.

Mond.
May 6.

Col. Moulton came to the camp with the news of his destroying St. Peters & taking several prisoners, with the loss of one of his own men & one man wounded. [He stated that] the live stock & prisoners which he took he carried & left at Canso and that Cap^t. [Richard] Jaques, who went with Capt. Donehoe up the Bay of Vert was killed & Donehoe repulsed. Fair &

warm weather. Canonaded briskly from G[rand] Battery.

Com. Warren came on shore y^s morning to y^e G[eneral's] tent & there dined. Two more guns split at G. Battery. Canons halling across the morasses to the town—Cohorns placed nearer the walls are now with [in] 700 Yards of the city. This n^t. 2 French girls bro't in—

Tu.

May 7.

This morning E. W^d. Cloudy but dry & warm for the season. Our cohorns played briskly on the town; they returned shot & bombs—

Com. W[arren] on shore & din'd. At 11 A. M. Capt. [James?] Agnue with a Drum & Serjeant was sent with a summons to the commanding officer in Louisbourg to deliv^r. up the city &c. to the subjects of the Crown of Great Brittain. P. M. Drums beat to arms for a general muster. At 5 y^s afternoon Capt. Agnue returned to the Camp, and bro't with him the enemies answe^r. to the above mentioned summons—Which was that the F[rench] King their master had great dependance on them & that they would return no answer, but from the mouths of their canon. The whole time the flag was in the city all hostility ceased, but at 5 when the time appointed for answer was expired, the canonading began on both sides & continued very smartly this evening.

Abt. 800 men sett out fr. Cabb. [Gabarus Bay] in whale boats to attack the Island Batt.¹⁸ but daylight coming on they did not attempt it. The surff was large & dang. landing. A calm N^t.

Wed.

May 8.

Foggy. W^d. S. 5 Prisoners bro't in—Moving large canon to batter the town—Preparing to

¹⁸The Island Battery was a strong fort at the entrance of the harbor mounting thirty 28-pound guns beside two brass ten-inch mortars and seven swivel guns. It had a garrison of 180 men and was the natural point of attack for the Colonial troops after the surrender of the Grand Battery. It was about half-way across the neck of the harbor, between the city and the Lighthouse Battery.

- attack the Isl. Batt. but did not proceed. A sally made this evening by a number of y^e enemy.
- Th. Foggy. W^d. S. A canon ball from the city
May 9. wounded five men at the Green Hill. One man lost both legs & soon died. Another attack on Island Batt. but did not proceed. Several wounded by the splitting of our own musquets.
- Fr. This morning W^d. W. b. N. Fog cleared off.
May 10. Blew hard & cool. Abt. 20 prisoners bro't in—men, women & children. Much canonading fr the enemy this day—The bed of our great mortar failed—Twenty of our men was attack't by a party of Indians abt. 6 miles fr. G [rand] Battery. Whale boats carried across the land to G. Batt. Another att. on Isl. Batt. but did not proceed—Col. Moulton accidentally wounded. Com. Warren lodged here.
- Sat. This morning very cool. W^d. N. W. b. N.
May 11. Cloudy. Blew fresh as usual when the wind at this point. A battery forming to canonade y^e W. Gate. Fluxes prevail—
- Lords Day This day fresh N. W^d. cool—[Capt. Moses] Bennet
May 12. sailed for Boston. Appeared here.
- Mond. This day cloudy, cold, windy & at E. A French
May 13. snow got safe into Louisbourg harb^r. from Bourdeaux. Two canon at our Bomb Batt. split & wounded 4 or 5 men. A gunner bel [onging] to C [ommodore] W [arren] had his leg shot off. One man killed at G [rand] Batt. by a shot from y^e city & 2 wounded. Dysenterys prevail—Great mortar bed mended last n^t. & [mortar] began to play on the town—A fire ship sent on the enemys shipping near the town wall. The enemy ceased their fire on our Fascines Batt. & fired very smartly on the fire ship. A cold stormy, rainy n^t. The great mortar moved this n^t. nearer the walls of the city.

- Tu. This day snow, hail & rain. Fresh N. W^d. very
May 14. cold. Not much canonading this day except
fr. G [rand] Battery on the brig or snow that
arrived yesterday.
- Wed. Last night cool; froze the ground. Morning
May 15. W^d. N. W. b N. Fair weather—This morning
our canon fr. Bomb Batt. near G [reen] Hill
at y^e cittadel side began to fire. Split the mouth
of one canon & the enemy's canon ball broke
another. A Fascine Battery called Titcombs
to be erected with 4 or 5 42 pounders fr G [rand]
Battery to batter W [est] Gate—Com. Warren &
other ships sailed out of Cabb. [Bay]. A great
swell [high tide?]. Hospital built. One of Col.
Moultons men killed by a bomb.
- Th. This day fair, raw, cold. S. W^d. A parcel of
May 16. 23 canons, found near the Light House. Our
canon at y^e Batt.¹⁹ played advantageously
against y^e cittadel— Transports²⁰ preparing to
return. Last n^t. froze hard.
- Fr. W^d. S. Fair & moderate weather. By the
May 17. splitting of a canon at G[rand] Battery Capt.
[Daniel] Hale & others was wounded, Capt.
Hale dangerously. Abt. one P. M. abt. an
hundred Frenchmen, who came out of the city
last night & in shallows landed towards N. E.
Harbour, came upon a party of our men at Light-
House Point & killed one of our Indians. Our
men dangerously wounded a man of distinction

¹⁹ The Shirley account states that the smaller mortars at the Green Hill Battery could not reach the citadel and were accordingly moved to a location but 440 yards from the West Gate [Titeomb's battery mentioned in text of May 15.] "whence they annoyed the enemy very much and received no damage at all." The Accurate Journal and Account speaks of a battery raised on May 17, but 250 yards from the West Gate, the guns being brought from the Grand Battery and this is confirmed by a letter, Pepperrell to Warren, May 19.

²⁰ These transports were used to convey most of the prisoners thus far taken, to Boston. They were the *Victory*, Capt. William Adams; the *St. Peters*, Capt. Davis, and two prize vessels, commanded by Capts. Arno and Joseph Richardson, respectively.

belonging to Canada, who was with the enemy & took him captive and beat back the enemy into the woods.

Near 300 Canon Ball was flung from our 8 G[un] Battery against the walls & works of the enemy, and some of their canon was dismounted. Several transp.²¹ fr Boston with provision for y^e army. A man wounded at 8 G. Battery—

Sat.

May 18.

W^d. N. E. Blew fresh & cool but fair. Last night a Fascine Battery was raised within a quart^r. of a mile of the West Gate; from whence was fired one eighteen pounder, that being the only gun of 4 y^t was there which was mounted, by which the W. Gate was soon demolished. Our people fired briskly all this morning with their musquets at the enemy on the ramparts some of whom they suppose they killed & wounded others. The enemy also played briskly their canon & musquets on our people at these new works & by one of their canon the brave Capt. [Joshua] Pierce was killed. One of our gunn^{rs} was killed by a musket ball thro' y^e Ambroziers.²² Three men wounded at the same place & 2 killed by a canon at Batt. near W. Gate. Many taken with an inflammatory feavr. Trethocick a store vessel for Com.W[arren] arrived in Cabb. B [ay]. By y^e splitting of one of our own bombs one of our men killed & another wounded.

Lords Day

May 19.

A. M. W^d. N. E. P. M. E. & foggy. A remarkable day. Early this morning one N. Hicks, stragling from the New Fascine Batt. at W. Gate, e're he was aware got so near the walls that the enemy shot a volley of small arms at

²¹There appear to have been seven transports in this fleet commanded by Capts. Bradford, Bramham, Clark, Stinson, Rackwood and Jones from Massachusetts, and Capt. Ward of New Hampshire.

²²Coming through one of the "ambroziers" or embrasures of the battery.

him, wounded him in 5 places tho' not mortally & besides very much shatter'd & tore his upper garment which was a borrowed loop coat at which y^e wound^d man seem'd more concern'd yⁿ for his own wounds. I[n addition] a gunner was killed at N. F. Batt. by a canon Ball.—2 barr^{ls}. powd^r. fired by accident at N. F. Batt. wounded 3 or 4 men, killed one, one a fracture of tib & fibula. One of the 42 pounders at N. F. Batt. killed 2 men & wounded others.

About noon a large French ship (which proved to be the Vigilant a ship of war mounting 64 guns) came up with the Mermaid (in sight of the camp) & fired upon her, & soon after with Capt. Rouse in y^e Shirley Gally. Both of those ships fired frequently at the Vig^t. but did not care to come too near therefore bore away towards the Commodore & other of our ships which were nearer y^e shore. The Com. & other ships soon discovered y^r fire & motions & being to windward of her bore down & in the evening came up with her. We heard a pretty constant firing all the Afternoon & in y^e evening at a considerable distance & hope they will be able to give a good acct. of her tomorrow.

Much canonading on both sides this day & pelting with small arms. A prize brig sent into Cabbarouse Bay.²³

Mond.
May 20.

A very cold, Easterly fogg. An Indian wounded in y^e back and a lad in y^e heal by a canon. This morning news came to y^e camp, that [when] Capt. Fletcher [was] watering at Cabb. [Gabarus Bay] the Indians had killed 8, & captivated 3 of his men—A battery raised this night over the

²³ "Yesterday Capt. [Daniel] Fones had the good fortune to take a French brigg from St. John de Luz, laden with wine, brandy, and provisions for Lewisbourg, which he carries in with him to Chapeauxrouge Bay." Warren to Pepperrell, May 19, 1745. 6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 187.

cove to rake y^e Kings gate & Circular Battery.
O^{ne} Mⁿ D^d in Hosp [ital.]

Tuesd. W^d. S. W. Foggy & very cool. Abt. noon
May 21. Capt. Tyng bro't a letter on shore from Com.
Warren, with the very agreeable News of his
having taken [the *Vigilant*²⁴] a French ship of
64 guns—the same that he engaged with the
Lords Day evening. After some dispute the
Frenchman having above 20 men killed & abt.
as many wounded, strook, but it being foggy
& a large sea, the Com. not hearing y^e cry for
q^r. gave him a broadside & than lost the prize,
it being dark, but the Mermaid being near &
knowing she had strook sent her boat with 4
men on board the prize where y^v stayed all n^t.
The next morn. the Com. discov^d her at a little
distance in much confusion her rigging, yards &
masts much hurt & soon went to work to make
y^e proper distribution of the prisoners & rectifie
the ship in order to bring her in — 3 prisoners
(y^t left the prize brig) taken y^s day [near Louis-
bourg,] and 7 more taken at a little Eastern harb^r.
or town. A scout of 29 men y^t went out abt. 3
or 4 miles N. W. from the camp discovered & fired
upon a party of French—A large scout went
out a 2^d time, fired upon the centory, recovered
a gun, bro't away a cow & 2 oxen, burnt 2
houses, and got a little plunder. C[apt.]
Gayton arriv^d y^s day.

Wed. A. M. S. W^d. P. M. W^d. W. Warm & calm.
May 22. An Indian wounded in the head by a stone
which was strook by a canon ball fr. the enemy.

²⁴ In a letter of May 20, to Pepperrell, Commodore Rous mentions this vessel and his experience with her. A French fleet was expected to arrive at any time and the *Vigilant* was considered as a member of this fleet, separated by some fortune from her comrades. She was commanded by M. de la Maisonfort. An account of her capture and a vigorous condemnation of the course of her captain in laying himself open to attack is given in the anonymous *Lettre d'un Habitant de Louisbourg*, Wrong's edition pp. 45-49.

A man blown up by gun powder at [Capt. Sylvester] Richm[ond's] Batt. An attack on Island Batt. intended, but failed. A large ship fr the W^t. joined our fleet, supposed to be [the] Aurora Borealis.

- Th. S. E. W^d. Moderate & fair weather.
- May 23. Capt. [William] Vaughan with a few men approached y^e W[est] Gate undiscovered, but as they drew off y^e enemy wounded one of the men. Brisk canonading from the G[reat] Batt. & from all the Fascine Batterys—An attack on Isl. Batt. intended this night but failed.
- Fr. W^d. N. Brisk gale & cool—Com. W[arren's] gun^r. died.²⁵ The Hector a 40 g. ship arrived.
- May 24.
- Sat. A. M. W^d. N. P. M. E^t. Woods on fire.
- May 25. Warm weather—This evening a party of our men killed one of y^e enemy & bro't in 3 prisoners.
- Lords Day W^d. S. W. Warm weath^r. A. M. Cool evening
- May 26. & foggy. This n^t. an attack was made by [400] of our men command^d by Capt. [Edward?] Brooks on the Island Battery & were repulsed with y^e loss of abt. 60 men killed & 112 captivated several of whom were wounded.²⁶ In this action our men were und^r much disadvantage. The surf runing high their arms, many of y^m, were wett in the landing; the enemy having some intimation of their coming were well prepared to receive them, having y^r canon charged with langrage²⁷ which y^y discharged

²⁵ See entry for May 13 where the injury to this gunner is noted.

²⁶ The men engaged in this attack seem to have been in large part volunteers. A letter of Benjamin Green to Robert Hale is among the manuscripts of the Society, in which, as secretary to Pepperrell, he directs that all pistols in Hale's regiment be given to men volunteering for the engagement and in 6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 516, is a list comprising the names of 41 men who volunteered to serve, under Beamsly Glaizer of the 5th Massachusetts Regiment, in the attack.

²⁷ Langrage or langrel was a variety of projectile consisting of bolts, nails and other small pieces of iron fastened together loosely. It was used more particularly at sea for tearing the sails and rigging of opposing vessels and for repelling boarders.

on our Boats before, y^y could land & put them into much disorder & kept back a great part of those y^t sh^d have landed, whereby those few that were landed were dispirited, & so, as many as could, after a firing of abt. an hour or two got off the Island & bro't to the camp the sorrowful news of y^r defeat. By the sudden splitting of a bomb in our great mortar it was unhappily broke this night, which added much to our heaviness. Now things look't something dark—but yet few or none discouraged.²⁸

Monday
May 27. W^d. S. W. foggy. 8 Prisoners bro't in from Mera; 2 men wound^d. at Isl. Batt. bro't to y^e hospital. —

Tu.
May 28. A. M. W^d. S. W. Foggy & cool. Even. Fair. W^d. W. moderate. 2 men wounded by a bomb in Col. [Sylvester] Richmond's ditch—1 man wounded by a musq^t ball thro' y^e peoris & serotum. The ball lodged in his thigh—
This day a party of 400 men went out from G [rand] Batt. Abt. 2 P. M. came up with a party of 100 F [rench] & 80 Indians with whom they skirmish't several hours; of our men 10 wounded & 5 killed among whom was Capt. Demick & Lt. Allen. Of the enemy we recovered one & they say y^r was killed & wounded 13 more—
We recovered several boats with provision belonging to y^e enemy.

Wed.
May 29. W^d. S. E. Fair & something moderate. Gen[eral] Pepperrell] went to G. Batt. Scouts returned from Cabb. discovered nothing—A 2^d scout sent to Mera consisting of 400 men—Sickness abating.

²⁸ Of the 400 persons participating in this attack *An Accurate Journal and Account* states the number of lost as prisoners at 116. According to one account Captain Brooks, who headed the attack, had forced his way with a few soldiers at his back into the battery, where he was killed in a fierce hand to hand fight. If this be the case the leader was some other than Edward Brooks of New Hampshire as he is mentioned later in this record.

- Th. W^d. S. W. Foggy. Vigilant carried to Cabb.
 May 30. [Gabus Bay] to refit—The French flag staff
 shot down this morning—
- Fr. A. M. W^d. S. & foggy. P. M. Fogg cleared off
 May 31. W^d. Western'd. This day 7 male & 3 female
 captives were bro't in by our scout that went
 out from G. Batt. y^e day bef. yesterday. Some
 of these came out of Louisb. with Mouns^r.
 Bobesang [Beaubassin] abt. 12 days since—
 They say that many of their people were killed
 & wounded by our people in a skirmish y^v
 had a few days ago. And they further say
 that Bobesang & 5 more with him in a shallop
 got into the city this morning. 2 guns planted
 last n^t. by the enemy on new works near W.
 Gate [were] silenced by our people's canon this
 day—
 C[apt.] Newmarth who was sent in a schooner
 to Annapolis returned & reported he was so
 briskly attackt by the India^s at his entring the
 bason, he was oblig^d to return, it being impracti-
 cable for him to go up to the fort.
- Saturday Last night y^e enemy planted 9 guns on the
 June 1. walls near the W. Gate. A scout of 200 men
 went in quest of the enemy to Mera abt. twenty
 miles distance from y^e camp. Foggy, W^d. E.
 Moving camps. Small shot i. e. 9 & 18 pound
 expended. A Council of War to debate on the
 plan of action sent on shore by Com. Warren.
- Lords Day W^d. N. Cloudy, cool, rained hard y^s n^t. foggy.
 June 2. A French brig belong^g. to Louisb. loadⁿ. with
 bread, wine & brandy fr. Nantz, was taken by
 Cap^t. [William] Montague—
 Capt. Donehoe arrived here in 8 days fr. Boston,
 with a large mortar, shells ready filled & fused
 and 50 barr^{ls} of powder; this unexp. supply
 was matter of great joy. Capt. Rouse with a
 tender order'd to Annapolis. None killed or

wounded this 2 days.—Sickness abated. A conference was held this morning by one of our men in the trench at the advanced battery with a Frenchman on the walls of the city who talked English, asking each other to breakfast &c. This held abt. $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, during which time the soldiers on each side stood exposed but no firing & than retired from the walls & to firing again—

A battery order'd to be erected at the Light-house to annoy Island Battery, & any shipping of the enemy that might come into the harbour. C[apt.] Bush sent to land carrages for y^e canon there.

Mond.
June 3.

W^d. N. b. E. Cool & cloudy. Gen. [Pepperrell] & other officers went off to Com. W[arren] to consult upon some plan of action.²⁹ A sloop from Canada, loaden with provision was taken by C[apt.] Griffith abt. 3 or 4 miles east of the Light House. The crew being 22 men ran her ashore & escaped, firing upon our people as they came to get off the sloop—Lodged at newbuildings y^s n^t.—

Tuesday
June 4.

W^d. S. W. Fair & warm weather. Red hot shot fired this day. A French souldier deserted from the town & came to the camp. [Capt.] Giddens saild for Boston by whom I sent my letter^s to wife y^t I wrote Lords Day. Another French sloop from Cannada. A scout that went up to Duvivier Farm bro^t. in 17 prisoners, killed 2 Frenchmen & brot in plunder. [Capt. Moses] Bennet from Boston brot. a letter & sunddry^s from Boston from [Stephen³⁰] Greenleaf—

²⁹A letter of this date from Commodore Warren to Pepperrell states that in the journal of the brig captured by Capt. Montague the day previous, there was found a mention of a fleet of eight French vessels seen from the brig. Warren asks, therefore that the *Vigilant* be manned and sent to his aid that he may be ready to meet the Frenchmen, and that a council be called for consultation as to further action.

³⁰ Probably Stephen Greenleaf, the merchant, although possibly, his brother Daniel.

- Wend^y. W^d. N. A.M. & Fair. P.M. Cloudy. A
 June 5. sloop from Canso with advice that the siege of Annapolis was raised & that the Indians & French were drawing on near to Louisbourg. A thunder shower at sea the first we had—A Carolina ship taken. 12 guns mounted—
- Thursday W^d. N.W. Fair & pleasant. A boy stragled
 June 6. from the city—[Capt.] Bush came on shore—Mov^d. the hospitall—4 persons died.—
- Fryday W^d. S. Calm & moderate—
 June 7. Went up Chab. [Gabus] Bay—
- Saturday W^d. S.E. Large rain—Flag of truce went in
 June 8. this day. A horse killed by a cannon from the town—the rider wounded in his heel—
- Lords Day W^d. W. Flying clouds sprinkling showers. Our
 June 9. ships in chase this day—The army picketing in the camp^s workt all hands. Two Swiss deserters came to the Gen^l. this morning & were examined who has it is tho^t. gave a pretty just account of the state of the town. They s^d. a souldier was hanged in the town a day or two ago who was abt. to desert with a letter from one of our men in the city. 112 Swiss [in the town?]-
- Monday W^d. N.W. Fair warm & pleasant weather.
 June 10. The Chichester man of war, a ship of 50 guns from England joyn^d. Com^d. Warren. They brot advice that they parted with two 60 gun ship^s [the Sunderland and Canterbury] a few days ago who were to rendevouze [at Canso] where it was expected they were arrived. A schooner was dispatched to Canso immediately. A scout of men und^r. Major [Richard] Cutt went out this day. The 2 deserter^s sent off to Com. Warren. The camp totally enclosed. The Light House Battery began to play. One of our men there killed by a cannon from Island

Battery. Poilet^s [pilots] sent off to Com. Warren.³¹

Tuesday W^d. N. E. Pleasant. A smart firing from L.
June 11. House Battery to Island Battery. French fired many bombs day & night they say 64—A man wounded at Rds. [Rhodes] Battery by musket ball in thigh. Gen^l. & other officer^s went off to Com. Warren.³² Went to G. Battery & viewed the city & Island Battery with glass. 6 transport^s ordered to take in the mast & yards of the ship^s. A man wounded the night at R[o]yal B[attery] by the split of a bomb. 2 small mortar^s mended that was broke.

Wednesday W^d. N. E. Cool but pleasant. Two men of war,
June 12. each 60 gun^s from England joyned our fleet—also [the Lark] a man of war of 40 gun^s & a prise ship of 20 gun^s.—Two sloop^s of wood order^d off to the fleet; Oakum & Moss prepared for the ship^s use for their neting—20 bb. of Powder sent to L[ight] H[ouse] Batt. French fired briskly. Two 42 pounders were hauled the n^t. to Titcombs Battery—Maj^r. [Richard]

³¹ With the arrival of these naval re-enforcements and the completion of the fortifications at the light house battery, Warren felt that the surrender of the city was at hand, and wished that the capitulation should be made to him rather than to Pepperrell. In the words of the anonymous *Lettre d'un Habitant* "L'Amiral de son côté songeoit à se procurer l'honneur de nous reduire." He therefore sent an officer to propose that if the French must surrender, it would be better to do so to him, because he would show a consideration that, perhaps, they might not find with the commander of the land force.

The same writer in another place speaks of Pepperrell as "étant bien aisé de nous forcer à nous soumettre, avant que l'Escadre se fût mise en devoir de nous y contraindre."

³² During the period June 10-15, when the preparations for a final assault were being made, the correspondence between Pepperrell, Warren and other officers in charge of various details of the attack is extremely helpful. The letters are printed in 6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 255-280. From them it may be seen that Warren was the more urgent for an attack while Pepperrell remembering the result of the attack on the Island Battery relied more upon the siege and a gradual wearing out of the French defense. Each arm of the service, however, supported the other. Many men from the land forces went on board the vessels and the latter furnished much of the ammunition needed ashore. Numerous joint councils of war were also held and many of these are recorded in the Pepperrell papers referred to above.

Cutt^s scout returned but no discovery. A great mortar moved this night.

Thursday W^d. S. W. Fair & pleasant & mod. weather.
June 13. The whole of the transport^s ordered out of Chap. Bay to the fleet to clear the ship^s of y^r lumber in order to go into the harbour of L [ouisbourg for the attack]. Titt [comb's] 4 gun Batt. fired briskly this day on the town—One 42 pounder hauled to Titt. Batt^r. The French bomb[arded] briskly—

Friday W^d. S. E. Foggy P. M. W^d. S. W.—A warrant
June 14. from Com. Warren for 150 barell^s of powder from store ship—All our batterys fire briskly more so yⁿ ever—
3 large piles of brush set on three hills near the town for a beacon for Com^d. Warren—Enemy fird at the [soldiers] erecting them—Ladder^s carried down to Adv [anced] B [attery] in ord^r. to attack to morrow. 45 bombs flung by the enemy to us this night but without any considerable damage.

Saturday W^d. S. W. Fresh gale, fear wether—Com.
June 15. W [arren] on shore and the ridg^t being drawn upon the parade he made a speech encouraging them in the designd attack on the town.³³ The fleet anchored at sea abt. 2 leagues from shore off against the camp—600 of our forces embarked in the severall ship^s—A flag of truce from the city desiring time to draw up articles of capitulation—Till 9 [o']clock next morning given—A man killed by a boumb at Light House Battery—

³⁴Plenty of capling a small fish like a smelt but wth. y^s dif. y^e former have a large fin near the belly.

³³ There is among the manuscripts in the Society's collection a letter from Benjamin Green to Robert Hale of this date directing the latter to detail men from his regiment to make ladders in preparation for this designed attack on the town.

³⁴ This is a marginal note in the manuscript.

Lords Day W^d. E. Foggy very cool. This day abt. 9
June 16. Capt. Bonnre^e. [Bonnaventure] came as a flag of
truce from town. Articles were drawn by
Gen^l. [Pepperrell] & C[ommodore Warren] &
sent in to be ans^d. by 6 P. M. Hostages sent
to ratifie the terms.

Monday Gen^l. [Pepperrell] & other officer^s & souldiers
June 17. entered the town in form this evening. Ship^s
& transport^s entred the harbour. Rained hard
this night. Sick this day.³⁵

Tuesday Foggy & rainy this P. M. & night—A French
June 18. ship taken this morning at the entry of the
harbour. I went into the city this afternoon.
Lodged this evening at G[eneral Pepperrell's]
house—The French troop, abt. 500, embarqued
this day on bord the ship^s—Rec^d. a letter from
Mr. [Rev. George] Whitefield.³⁶ [Capt. Joseph]
Smith³⁷ arrived from Boston—Sick.

Wednesday Foggy this day. Many of the French officers &
June 19. gent. paid there compliment^s to the Generall.
Gen^l. dind on bord [the ship of the] Comodore.
Many complaints of abuses done by the Eng.
soldier^s to the French inhabitants.³⁸
148 ambraseers³⁹ [embrasures] in the Town—

³⁵ This entry is also a marginal note and possibly of an unofficial character as is the note at the close of the entry of June 18.

³⁶ Whitefield was a friend of Pepperrell and much interested in the Louisbourg expedition. He preached a sermon to the troops before they left Boston and another after the fall of the fortress was known. Neither appears to have been printed.

³⁷ Captain Smith reached Canso with supplies from Boston on June 13 and was hurried on to Pepperrell by Capt. Ammi R. Cutter who commanded at that place. In addition to his stores he brought directions from Shirley for the fortification and defense of Canso harbor.

³⁸ These complaints are well summarized in the anonymous "Lettre d'un Habitant," pp. 65-67. They are aimed at Pepperrell and his Colonial forces rather than at Warren. This may be due to the fact that the English had obtained much plunder from the prize ships captured during the siege, none of which had gone to the Americans, and that Pepperrell's soldiers were, therefore, more eager to secure booty from the French after the surrender.

³⁹ In this list of guns captured, ambraseers probably refers to the number of cannon captured suitable for mounting in the embrasures of the fortifications.

2 Brass mortars at Iland Batt.

5 D°. in City —

1 D°. Iron in City

Swivell Gun^s.

Thursday Foggy, rainy — Very rainy night. W^d. S. — This
June 20. night answered Mr. [George] Wh[ite]f[iel]ds letter.
[Capt. Moses] Bennet saild with an express
for Boston. Wrote to my wife by Bennet.
Enemy obs. y^e remarkable workings of Provi-
dence for us in the season &c.

Friday W^d. S. W. Foggy & rainy the most time since
June 21. we landed on this Iland — Hospitall agreed by
y^e F[rench] to be divided between F[rench] &
Eng[lish]. Agreed all the vessels &c. outside
y^e adv[ance] line & from thence on a streight
line to the L[ight] House Battery.

Saturday Foggy. W^d. S. W. Packet for New England
June 22. finisht by Generall & Com[modore]. Inhabi-
tants preparing to embarque for France. Gen^l.
gave a warrant to Capt. Brook^s to search for
plunder. Order^s given for the weighing of such
French vessels that were within our line that
were sunk. Concell sett A. M. Many of the
inhabitants by permitt^s go to the neighboring
villages to bring in their family^s. The French
clandestinely bring away there shallows from
No. E. Harbour. Our officers collect the arms
of the inhabitant^s to be put into the Kings
armoury.

Lords Day W^d. S. Foggy. The Rev^d. Mr. Walker of
June 23. Roxbury [preached] the first sermon in the
Kings Chapple from Ps. 81 — Sung part of the
[blank] Concluded with part of the [blank]
Mr. Newman Preached P. M. from Ps. Cannon
heard at sea. A ship seen from our camp &
notice thereof sent to the Generall. 12 French-
men enterd.

Monday W^d. S. Foggy & rainy. Councill sett. Sevrall
June 24. transpourt^s of the Prov:— app [eared] & [are]
preparing to carry the prisoners to France.
Acc^s. taken of the King stores [of] provision,
ammunition &c. The Lancelton, a man of war
app. & prepared for to transport presonor^s to
France. Her Cannon shott taken out & put
on shore.—

Tuesday W^d. S. & foggy. Capt. Rouse arrived here from
June 25. Annapolis with 2 mortar^s & shel^s. & fuses.
Councill set. The inhabitant^s selling their goods
to the Eng. souldier^s &c. The Eng. souldier^s
strained for accommodation in town by reason
of the French barracks & houses being much
shattered. The names of the sev. officers &
number of sevrall soulder^s that were raised by
the sev^r. p[rovinces] to be transmitted home.

Wednesday W^d. S. A. M. Foggy. Glin or clearing away
June 26. abt. 11. Continued clear all day. Evening W^d.
E. & foggy & cool. More than a 1000 barrell^s
of flower in the kings garden & 50 barrells of
pork [with] hospitel stores & utensils. An inven-
tory thereof to be taken. This day 4 French
shalloway^s arrived here with French in order to
surrender—A scooner [arrived] from Annapolis—

Thursday W^d. E. Very rainy & cool.
June 27.

Friday W^d. S. Warm & foggy—
June 28.

Saturday [There is no entry for this day in the journal of
June 29. the expedition.]

Lords Day W^d. S. Cool. Mr. [Rev. Samuel] Moody preach^t.
June 30. this morning. The Hector [Capt. Frederick
Cornwall] sailed early this morning for Boston.

Monday W^d. S. W^t. Foggy morning. Clear^d. up & fogg
July 1. off. The French going on bord the sevrall
vessells with their baggage. Lancheston [Laun-

ceston] guns hauled to supply amberseer^s [embrasures.] Drew on Com^{sys} for 1 yr^s. [supplies] for hospitall.

Tuesday W^d. S. W. Foggy morn^g. & even^g.—Mount.
July 2. John Rouse⁴⁰. Ship^t. [of] French baggage & there persons cont [inued.] [Capt] Giddin^s arrived at Chaperouse & some hands came on shore.

Wednesday Foggy A. M. P. M. Rainy W^d. S. . . . The
July 3. Lanceton a ship of war with 6 or 800 prisoners saild for [Rochfort,] France. Cap^t. Tidimon [Richard Tiddeman] in a ship of warr saild. for Boston. The Red Iland ship arrived from Anapoles & a 20 gun ship of war from Neufourland [Newfoundland?] & England. [Capt.] Giddin from Boston came into the harbour with ab^t. 40 men & with powder & shott—

Thursday W^d. W. & by S. Severall of our sloop transports saild for France this day.
July 4.

Friday [Capt. Thomas] Saunders saild for Boston by whom I wrote to wife & enclosed one for son fro. Mr. [Rev. Samuel] Moody. Coll. Chote [John Choate arrived] in a schooner from Boston with 90 men. W^d. S. E.
July 5.

Saturday W^d. N.W. The 1st feair day since we came to
July 6. Louisbourg. Cap^t. Rouse saild for London [illegible]. Cap^t. [Jonathan] Snelling arrived with near 200 recruits. Many French inhabitants of y^e Ile of Cape Breton arrived here with stock & baggage. W^m. Shurbune with recruits from Boston.

Lords Day W^d. S. W. Pretty hard thunder. Pleasant
July 7. wether. A. M. Mr. Moody preach^t. from Heb^s. 1. Mr. William^s P. M. Red. a box from Dr. Greenleff [Dr. Daniel Greenleaf] with meddicines by Snelling.

⁴⁰ This entry refers to remounting on the ship of Captain Rous guns taken ashore to aid in the attack. Rous sailed for England July 6. See entry under that date.

- Monday Pleasant morning W^d. S. W. Superb man of
July 8. warr,& another went out this morning on a cruise. Cap^t. Donahew's sloop arrived from Gutt of Canso & bro^t. the melancholly new^s of the Death of Capⁿ. Donahew & 11 other^s who were killed by the Indian^s at G [utt of] C [anso.]⁴¹
- Tuesday W^d. S. W. Something cloudy —
July 9. 7 transport^s sail^d for Boston with French prisoner^s. Wrote to W⁴². by Tref [ethen.] Tref [ethen] saild for Portsmouth. Marines drawn off from city.
- Wednesday W^d. S. E. Foggy part of the day P. M. Many
July 10. of the sick dismist.
- Thursday W^d. W. Blew fresh. A fogg bank off [shore
July 11. and] hot day later. Evening showery. Night Several schooners with prisoner^s saild for Boston. A schooner from [blank] arrived this night. Cap^t. Thomson with sickley solders &c. sail^d for Boston this morning.
- Friday Calm smoaky warm morning W^d. S. Shalloway^s fitting out by Eng^h. for fishing. Wrote
July 12. to wife by [illegible] in Cap^t. Michall & by Cap^t. Durell to W [arren]. Five or 6 sail with Eng. & French sail^d. for N. England.
- Saturday W^d. S. W. Fresh pleasant morning P. M. Blew
July 14. hard N. W. Many of the sloops from S^t. Anns [13?] with wood &c. arrived. [Capt.] Durell sail^d.⁴³

⁴¹ An account of this skirmish with the Indians at Canso, resulting in the death of Captain Donahew, is given in more detail in a letter of July 7, from Ammi R. Cutter to Pepperrell. The news seems to have been brought by Captain Daniel Fones who was with Donahew at the time of the engagement. See: 6 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. X, 324.

⁴² This letter was probably to Richard Waldron at Portsmouth with whom Pepperrell kept in close touch as to popular feeling in New Hampshire and from whom news of the possibility of the removal of Gov. Wentworth and the appointment of Pepperrell in his place was received in a letter of July 20.

⁴³ The date July 14 is evidently an error in this entry. The confusion may have been caused by the coming in of the sloops on both Saturday and Sunday and by the fact that Captain Durell found the wind too strong for him when he put to sea on the 13th.

Lords Day Cloudy morning. W^d. N. A. M. Calm P. M.
 July 14. Very warm. New^s of Cap^t. Fletcher taking a
 Cannada sloop with 30 hands laden with wood &
 provisions. Wood sloop^s. retur^d. from S^t. An^s.
 Durell saild.

Monday Cloudy. Looks rainy W^d. N. E. [Capt.] Tyng
 July 15. [set out] for a cruise.

Tuesday Cloudy, rainy, foggy. W^d. fresh S. W. 7 or
 July 16. 8 sail from Boston with troop^s from Boston & a
 lette^r. from wife June 5 & from son, the first
 that ever he wrote. Letter^s from Boston inform-
 ing of the great joy of the town at the news of
 the reduction of Louisbourg. Road Island sailors
 for Vigilant.

Wednesday Flying cloud^s sprinkling rain. W^d. N. W.
 July 17. Cooll. [Capt.] Snelling saild from [for?] Boston.
 Wrote to my wife [by] Jn^o. Wise from Portsmouth
 by whom I rec^d. a letter from wife. Connecticut
 troop^s. arrived from Boston. Some French
 sail^d for France —

Thursday W^d. W. Fear. Cap. Tyng sail^d for Boston.
 July 18. Some sail^d for France — This day was celebrated
 a publick Thanksgiveing Day on the late joyfull
 occation — Wrote to [Com.] W[arren.] Rec^d.
 a letter from wife by Cap^t. Wise & rec^d a box — 2
 shirts 1 pr of stockings —

Friday Foggy W^d. S. E. Severall vessell^s went out
 July 19. for wood to harb^r. Eastward [Northeast harbor?].
 Severall plunder vessell^s appraised —

Saturday Foggy morning W^d. S. E. A ship from Boston
 July 20. one [Capt. Moses] Pearsons with whom came 3
 women the first English women y^t arrived. A
 grt. load of provission brot.

Lords Day [There is no entry for this day in the journal of the
 July 21 expedition.]

- Monday July [22.] Cloudy W^d. S. E. & Several transport^s from Boston, [Capt. Moses] Bennet among them. A large ship appeared in the offen at noon. Suposed to be a French man of war—
- Tuesday July 23. W^d. at E. This morning two 60 gun ship^s was towed out of the harbour in ord^{er} to fight a French man of war which lay 3 or 4 leagues off the harb^r. mouth. She proved an India ship. Our ships came up. Several wood sloops came in with [Capt.] Fletcher. This morning abt. 9 A. M. fire^d with there small arm^s & thⁿ. one broadside. She strook imediately & presently hoist^d. her couller^s. Again wore round & made sail & stood off but our ships presently over haul^d. her & she strook again—
- Wednesday July 24. A. M. W^d. E. Cloudy. P. M. Rainy, showery & cool. W^d. S. W. Abt. 6 evening Cap. Edw^{ds}. & Hoar & the sloop of Coneticut came in & brot. whith them an East India prise ship about 40 guns, 110 men & one Gelⁿ. from Bengall veary richly laden. She strook a^t y^e first fire from our ships.
- Thursday July 25. W^d. N^o. Fair weather. The East India prize ship saluted the town by discharging her guns which was answered by the discharge of 16 cannon from the town. Cap^t. Griffith in the Rhode Island snow was ordered out to convoy the French transport ship that was bound for France and to prevent her speaking with the Indiamen expected on the Coast.
A schooner from Rhode Island with provision &c. Colony Rhode Island sent 150 troop^s.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ This Rhode Island contingent it will be noticed arrived too late to be of service in the attack. Hutchinson assumes that the colony had no desire to risk her soldiers and declares that "Rhode Island waited until a better judgment could be made of the event" before sending her men (Hist. of Mass. Bay, II, 371). This view has not been universally accepted. Gov. Gideon Wanton protested against it in a letter to the colonial agent at London (Dec. 20, 1745, R. I. Col. Rec. V, 145), and Edward Field in his State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (Vol. I, pp.

Friday W^d. S. A. M. P. M. S. E. Several transports
 July 26. & traders arrived here y^s day. Many wood
 vessels went out to load at Chapeaurouge &
 St. Peters. Cap^t. Hodge & others saild for
 N[ew E[ngland] with expresses for the sale of
 the East India cargo.

Saturday Rainy weather. W^d N. E. In the offen this
 July 27. morning appear'd 10 sail about 4 or 5 leagues
 W. They prov'd to be wood sloops bound to
 St. Peters. About 2 P. M. 2 large ships and a
 topsail sloop appeared off Eastward. Standing
 in they prov'd to be 2 of our men of war and a
 tender from Bay of St. Lawrence.

Lords Day This morning very early a sail appeared off
 July 28. Seatteree. 2 ships of war being at anchor
 outside the light soon came to sail & gave
 chase. Ab^t. 10 came up with her, gave fire &
 presently went out of sight. We wait the event.
 W^d. S. W. Fresh fair weather. Order contain-
 ing 17 articles to regulate the garrison now
 pasted on a board & set up in publick guard
 houses.⁴⁵

Monday Fair pleas^t. morning. Warm. W^d. S. Cap^t.
 July 29. Fones who was with the ships of war yesterday
 at the taking the ship, brou^t in news that she
 proves to be another East Indianman 24 guns &
 ab^t. 4 scowmen. Comm^d. Warren made a
 speech to the Army & Governour Shirleys letter
 was read.
 P. M. Cloudy. Looks like rain. Calm & in the
 evening fresh S. W. [wind.] India prize ship of

186 and 561, Boston, 1902) recording merely that "one-half of the Rhode Island troops unfortunately arrived too late for the attack," emphasizes garrison duty performed and the services of Rhode Island upon the sea. The entry for Apr. 24 (ante p. 147) would seem to imply that some Rhode Island men reached Louisbourg at that date.

⁴⁵ A letter of July 26 from Sir William Pepperrell to Robert Hale enclosing "rules and orders for the good regulation of this place", reproduced in facsimile, faces p. 133.

20 odd guns brou^t. in by Chester & Mermaid ab^t. 5. Saluted the town by firing 15 guns. Returned by Comm^d. Warren. 2 ships appear'd ab^t. dusk to y^e W. and fired. A sloop arriv'd from Boston wth live stock & lime.

Tuesday [Capt.] Branscom from Portsmouth with 5
July 30. companys being ab^t. 120—230 men arrived here last night. 2 vessells from Boston & 1 from Salem. Advice from Boston of the eruption of the Indians at the Et. Killed 1 man, 50 or 60 cattle and beset S^t. Georges Fort—A storm of rain wth. a smart gale at S. E. Many taken ill with fevers—68 sheep & 20 cows sent by the province.

Wednesday Foggy A. M. S. W^d. & moderate—Many kinds
July 31. of East India goods sold now.

Thursday A. M. Fair. Small gale at S. E. P. M. Very
Aug^t. 1. hot day—summer-like weather. Parsons saild for N. E.

Friday This morning early a ship was discovered abt.
Aug^t. 2. 4 leagues dist. in the offen near Scatteree. Immediately 2 ships of war, in the harbour of Louisb. viz. The Canterbury a 60 and the Chester a 50 gun ship was towed out, it being almost calm. Soon after they got out a pretty fresh breeze arose. They stood down for the ship and about 9 A. M. came up with her & fired a gun at her. She strook immediately. Cap^t. Fletcher in a Brig^t. was outside of the French ship & might have boarded her e're the [English] ships came up, but for reasons he forbore, especially seeing the ships of war at hand. Cap^t. Fletcher took a boat with an officer & some men that belonged to the last E. India prize, which boat went on shore to Scatteree for a pilot & was now coming off to Fletcher—taking him

to be a French Brig.—to inform him Louisbourg was taken & to prevent his going in supposing that he might go up to Canada. P. M. S. W. Foggy off. Cap^t. Ward from Kittery. Powel from Casco. News of Indians mischief. A number of boats with wood from St. Peters in the morning. Ward says he saw 5 large ships near C. Sable & some sloops. Ab^t. 4 P. M. the 2 ships arriv'd.

Saturday Foggy day. W^d. out. Lightned much in the evening. A malignant feaver prevails.

Lords Day Foggy morning. A schooner from N York.
Aug^t. 4.

Monday 5. Very thick of fogg. W^d. out. Some rain.

Tuesday 6. Very rainy day. P. M. W^d. fresh S. W.

Wednesday S. W b. W^t. wind. Very rainy weather.

Aug^t. 7. The first soldier punished by riding the wooden horse.

Thursday Fair morning, W^d. N^o. P. M. Cloudy & very cool
Aug^t. 8. for the season—Several transports^r wth. y^e sick saild. Bennet & others. Cap^t. Ryan wth. whom Mr. Moody saild.⁴⁶

Friday N. E. W^d. Fresh gale & very cool. Several
Aug^t. 9. sloops from St. Peters. Sherburns schooner cast away on a ledge in this harbour. A schooner arriv'd from Newport.

Saturday W^d. Fresh E^t. Cloudy looks like dirt. A
Aug^t. 10. sloop from y^e E^t. A vessel from Charlestown, another from N. Y.
1st. man whipt 39 lashes for distressing a French

⁴⁶ Pepperrell's orders for the day direct the Colonel of the several regiments to report the condition of arms and equipment of soldiers under them charging that no ammunition be wasted and that arms be kept in good order. On the 9th, orders were issued for the cessation of profanity and other vice and for the promotion of good order among the soldiers. Such orders as these with the punishments mentioned in the text show the attempts made to maintain discipline in the captured fortress. See entry of July 28 ante.

corpse robbing [it] of 2 winding sheets & leaving the corpse above Ground.

Sunday Wind fresh E^t. Cloudy cool and began to wett.
Aug^t. 11. P. M. W^d. abated.

Monday Foggy drisly weather. Small wind at N. E^t.
Aug^t. 12. P. M. W^d. S. E. & rainy.

Tuesday This morning the Sun breaks out. Clouds
Aug^t. 13. scatter W^d. N. b W. almost calm. P. M. went wth. the Governour to the Light House and viewed Col^o. Gorhams French & Fascine Battery, which played advantagiously upon the Island Battery as also did our great mortar w^{ch}. was planted near the Lighthouse. [Capt.] Branscom saild for N. Eng^d.
Light House built by Lewis XV. 1731—576 pains of glass.

Wednesday Fear morning. W^d. N. P. M. Wind S. E. &
Aug^t. 14. pleasant wether.
Jno. Gammell Died & 3 more —

Thursday Fear morning W^d. at E. [Capt Daniel] Fones
Aug^t. 15. fr. Canso. A number of transport^s [sailed] fro. hence to Shedbuckda for wood for the garrison. P. M. W^d. fresh S. W. 7 or 8 sails appeared in sight [in the] offing coming from the westward. These severall vessell^s. prov^d. to be trader^s from sev^l. colonies [making] long passages.

Friday Cloudy. Very fresh w^d. S. W. Dark like dirty
Aug^t. 16. [weather.] Rained at noon. At 6 P. M. the Supperb & Hector arrived in whom came His Excellency &c. One of Coll. Willard's soldier^s shot accidentally. A shot through the arm.

Saturday A fair pleasant day & very warm. W^d. N. W.
Aug^t. 17. The most sumer like day for the season.—
His Excellency came on shore ab^t. 11 & was saluted by the ship^s in the harbour & a royall

salute by the town. The troop^s. was in arm^s. to rec. him.

Severall fine vessels from Boston th^s day. News that the Indians were desireous for peace.

Lords Day Rainy. W^d. S. W. Cap^t. Tyng arrivd. this Aug^t. 18. morn^g in whom came severall of the Councell.

Monday Foggy & rainey morn^g. P. M. Cleared of cloud^s. Aug^t. 19. Broke away. Moved my lodging^s. that night to the Gen^ls. house. Ganaston died y^s n^t.

Tuesday Fair wether W^d. S. W.

Aug^t. 20. Rec. a Letter fr. W. by packet.

Wednesday Fair morning W^d. N. W. A store vesell from Aug^t. 21. the Province arrived with rum &c. & a company of artificer^s. Severall trading vesells arrivd here. P. M. His Ec^l.y visited the Grand Battery. At his depar^t. the cannon of the garrison was discharged and as he passed by the ship^s. in the harbou^r. he was saluted by the fire of some [of] there cannon.

Thursday Fair Morning, W^d. N. W. . . . Severall trad- Aug^t. 22. ing vesel^s. arrived. P. M. [His Excellency] viewd the Iland Battery & was saluted by disch of the cannon at his landing there & at his departure. Rec^d. a Letter from Mr. [Rev. John?] Blunt.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

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MANUSCRIPTS.

Among the sources consulted by historians of the Pepperrell victory first mention is made of the existing manuscript letters and documents. Although they have been used by later writers, they must ever be the first authority for reference. The chief collections are:

- The Pepperrell Manuscripts;
- The Belknap Manuscripts;
- The Louisbourg Manuscripts.

These are all in the Library of the Mass. Hist. Society. With some exceptions the manuscripts in these groups relating to the Louisbourg Campaign have been printed in *The Pepperrell Papers*—Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., Ser. VI, vol. 10.

CONTEMPORARY PAMPHLETS.

Next in importance to the manuscript sources are the contemporary pamphlets. These give expression to the

views of participants in the campaign or of critics with an exactness nearly equal to the manuscripts.⁴⁷

PEPPERELL, WILLIAM. A letter to Capt. Henry Stafford with "An accurate Journal and Account of the Proceedings of the New England Land-Forces, during the late expedition against the French Settlements on Cape Breton to the time of the surrender of Louisbourg. . . . Attested by Lt. Genl. Pepperrell . . ." Exon:. Printed by and for A. & S. Brice, 1746.

SHIRLEY, WILLIAM. A letter to the Duke of Newcastle with "A Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg, and other Operations of the Forces, during the Expedition against French Settlements on Cape Breton; . . . approved and attested by Sir William Pepperrell . . ." London, E. Owen, 1746; Boston, Rogers & Fowle, 1746; Boston, J. Draper [1746]. The text of the Journal in these three editions agrees substantially with that of the "Accurate Journal" noted above.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY. The Case of his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, with respect to the Expenses they were at in taking and securing Cape-Breton. [Boston?] 1747.

GIBSON, JAMES. "A Journal of the late seige by the Troops of North America against the French at Cape Breton." London, 1745. This pamphlet was reprinted (Boston, 1847) by Lorenzo Johnson under the title "A Boston Merchant of 1745."

SERMONS, ETC.

The expedition was the occasion of many sermons and religious addresses asking the blessing of Heaven upon the enterprise or expressing thanks for its success. Among them are:

CHECKLEY, SAMUEL. "Prayer A Duty when God's people go forth to War. A sermon preached Feb. 28, 1744, 5. . . ." Boston, B. Green and Comp., 1745.

⁴⁷ Among these pamphlets are found some which give the credit of the expedition to others than Pepperrell or Shirley. The claim of Judge Auchmuty as originator of the plan for the capture of Louisburg is set forth in an article in the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1745, reprinted as "The Importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation humbly represented by Robert Auchmuty . . . in New England." An addition to the pamphlet title states, "Upon the plan laid down in this representation the island was taken by Commodore Warren and General Pepperrell the 14th of June 1745." The claim of William Vaughan is given in an anonymous tract entitled "The Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton truly stated and impartially considered." (London, 1746.) This tract is said to have been written by William Bollan but inspired by Vaughan himself. Parkman inclines toward Vaughan in his series of articles already mentioned. See also Miscellaneous Records, p. 182.

- CHAUNCEY, CHARLES. "Marvelkous Things done by the right Hand and holy Arm of God . . . A sermon preached July 18, 1745". Boston, T. Fleet, 1745.
- ELIOT, JARED. "God's Marvellous Kindness, illustrated in a sermon preach'd . . . in the Colony of Connecticut July 25, 1745. Occasion'd by taking the City of Louisbourg . . ." New London, T. Green, 1745.
- NILES, SAMUEL. "A Brief and Plain Essay on God's wonder-working Providence for New-England, in the Reduction of Louisburg . . ." New London, T. Green, 1745.
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- PRINCE, THOMAS. "Extraordinary events the Doings of God and Marvelous in pious Eyes . . a sermon preached July 18, 1745." Boston, D. Henchman, 1745.
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MAPS AND PLANS.

- Of the various publications containing maps and plans illustrating the siege and conquest of the city, both French and English are of importance as the former give a better idea of the fortress before the capitulation than do the latter.
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BROWN, RICHARD. History of the Island of Cape Breton. London, 1869. This work contains Richard Gridley's plan of the Town and Fortifications in 1745.

BRYMNER, DOUGLAS. Report on Canadian Archives, 1886, Ottawa, 1887. This volume contains a large map of Louisburg from Gridley's plan and the Reports for 1887 and 1894 contain calendars of important documents.

CONTEMPORARY HISTORIES.

Although the histories of the period give little material relating to the attack itself that is not presented more fully in the journals and accounts of participants in the expedition, they are of service in that they show the views prevalent at the time as to whom should be given the credit for the successful outcome. Among these histories are:

DOUGLASS, WILLIAM. A summary Historical and Political of the British settlements in North America. 2 vols. Boston, 1749-1751; 2 vols. London, 1755; 2 vols. London, 1760. Douglass wrote in a spirit of hostility to Shirley and considered the success of the expedition as due almost entirely to luck. See vol. 2, p. 11, edition of 1751.

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CHALMERS, GEORGE. An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies. Vol. I, London, 1782. 2 vols. Boston, 1845.

BELKNAP, JEREMY. History of New Hampshire. Vol. 2. Boston, 1791.

MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS.

Turning next to the various miscellaneous records and documents throwing light upon the expedition, first place may, perhaps, be assigned to Usher Parsons's Life of Sir William Pepperrell, Boston and London, 1855-1856, and Samuel A. Drake's, The Taking of Louisburg, Boston, 1891. Satisfactory accounts of the expedition are given in somewhat short compass by the more general historians of the period—Bancroft and Doyle, Palfrey and Parkman, but more important for our purpose are the journals of minor participants in the expedition when these have been printed. Noteworthy among them are the following:

ANONYMOUS. "Lettre d' un Habitant de Louisbourg," 1745. A reprint and translation of this rare pamphlet edited by George M. Wrong is in University of Toronto studies

(History), ser. 2, vol. I, pp. 1-74. Toronto, 1897. The original print is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

ARCHIBALD, SIR ADAMS. First siege and capture of Louisbourg (Royal Society of Canada, Transactions, ser. 1, vol. V, sec. 2, pp. 41-53).

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PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 20, 1910, IN ELLIS HALL, AT
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BUILDING, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

The President called the meeting to order at 10.30 A. M.

The following members were present:

Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green, Edward H. Hall, Albert H. Hoyt, Charles C. Smith, Samuel S. Green, Andrew McF. Davis, William B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, William E. Foster, Charles P. Greenough, Francis H. Dewey, George H. Haynes, Waldo Lincoln, George P. Winship, Austin S. Garver, Benjamin T. Hill, Henry F. Jenks, George L. Kittredge, Deloraine P. Corey, Clarence S. Brigham, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Worthington C. Ford, Henry E. Woods, Julius H. Tuttle, Samuel B. Woodward, Wilfred H. Munro, Henry W. Cunningham, Frank F. Dresser, Albert B. Hart, Shepherd Knapp.

The Secretary read the call for the meeting. The President having stated that the records of the previous meeting had been sent to each member in the printed Proceedings, and no corrections being made, the records were declared approved without reading.

The report of the Council, having been read by the Secretary, was ordered placed on file and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The President reported regarding the forwardness of the new library building and of the subscriptions to new funds:—

"On behalf of the Building Committee I have to report that the new building is making satisfactory progress, although the work has been very much delayed during the winter on account of bad weather. The contractor promises that the library will be ready for occupancy certainly by the first of August and perhaps a little sooner, so that there need be no hesitation in announcing that the annual meeting of the Society will be held in the new building. The October meeting, therefore, will be made the occasion of its dedication.

"As the members all know from the circular sent out in March, the Finance Committee, by virtue of a vote passed at the annual meeting, appointed a committee to solicit funds for the Society. This committee consists of the President, Mr. Edward L. Davis, Mr. Francis H. Dewey and Mr. William V. Kellen. The total amount subscribed to date is a little over \$30,000.00, most of which has been contributed by the Worcester members, and a large proportion of which has already been paid to the Treasurer. The committee feels much encouraged in its attempt to raise the amount called for by the circular, but urges upon all members the importance of this fund being sufficient to enable the Society to continue the work which it is now doing. The Society should not fall behind in book purchases, nor in the acquisition of newspapers. The request of the Committee of Publication for at least \$2,500.00 for publications next year should be granted, if the Society is to fulfil its duty of printing for the use of scholars even a small part of the valuable manuscripts in its possession."

The list of names proposed for membership by the Council was read by the Secretary, with a statement of the individual qualifications. Messrs. Cunningham and Dresser were appointed to collect and count the ballots, and, all the members present having had the opportunity to vote, they reported the election of the following gentlemen:—

Resident members:

Merritt Lyndon Fernald, Cambridge, Mass.

Gaillard Hunt, Washington, D. C.

Archer Milton Huntington, New York, N. Y.
Barrett Wendell, Boston, Mass.
Albert Whitin, Whitinsville, Mass.

Foreign members:

Juan B. Ambrosetti, Argentine.
Manuel Vincente Ballivian, Bolivia.
Arthur George Doughty, Canada.
William Lawson Grant, England.
Samuel A. Lafone Quevedo, Argentine.
Antonio Peñafiel, Mexico.
J. C. Rodriguez, Brazil.
Edward Seler, Germany.
Federico Gonzalez Suarez, Ecuador.
William Wood, Canada.

Mr. WOOD moved:

That the Council consider the advisability of changing the date of the semi-annual Spring meeting, and of making such changes in the by-laws as would thereby become necessary.

The President explained that this motion was made so that the Council might consider the question and present its recommendations at the next October meeting. According to the present by-laws the meeting must be held on the third Wednesday in April, and this date happens to fall ordinarily in the period of the regular April recess at Harvard University. As the members of the Society who are connected with the University are likely to be away from Cambridge at this time, they are hereby deprived of the opportunity of attending the Boston meeting. Professor Kittredge confirmed the arguments set forth in favor of the passage of the motion, which was then carried.

The papers announced in the call for the meeting were read:

"Life at Harvard a Century Ago as Illustrated by the Papers of Stephen Salisbury, Class of 1817," by Mr. Benjamin T. Hill of Worcester.

"The Jumano Indians," written by Mr. Frederick W. Hodge of Washington, and read in his absence by the Secretary.

"The Libraries of the Mathers," by Mr. Julius H. Tuttle of Boston.

Professor KITTREDGE, in discussing Mr. Tuttle's paper said:—

"There is in the Harvard Library a very important volume formerly belonging to Increase Mather, which is of particular interest on account of its character, namely John Webster's 'Exposition of Witchcraft.' This is sometimes referred to as one of the rational books on the subject; but as a matter of fact, which I undertook to show in a paper read before this Society at the meeting in April, 1907, Webster makes but a poor figure as a rationalist. This book was published in 1677 and was apparently bought by Increase Mather when he was in London on business connected with the Charter. It was brought back, and evidently stood by him when he was in the storm center of the witchcraft excitement in this part of the world. This particular volume was given to the University by James Russell Lowell. Another volume which I recently chanced across in the Library belonged to Increase Mather and his grandson Samuel. This, of course, is one of those Mr. Tuttle has indicated in his descent. It undoubtedly passed into the hands of Cotton Mather, although it does not contain his autograph, but does contain the autographs of Increase and Samuel."

The papers were referred to the Committee of Publication, and the meeting then adjourned.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP,

Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Council reports the deaths since the previous meeting of the Society of Henry Charles Lea of Philadelphia, on October 24, 1909, and George Park Fisher of New Haven, on December 20, 1909.

Mr. Lea was elected a member of the Society in October, 1888. He had attended no meetings of the Society and contributed nothing to our Proceedings.

Dr. Fisher was elected a member in October, 1879. He had attended no meetings of the Society and contributed in 1899 an obituary of Professor Othniel C. Marsh to our Proceedings.

We have learned, through the courtesy of one of the members elected at the last meeting, of the deaths, some years ago, of Sr. D. Marcos Ximenes De La Espada and Sr. D. Justo Zaragoza who were elected in October, 1882.

The President will speak of the two matters of principal importance which have concerned the Society within the past half year;—the satisfactory progress of the work on the new building, and the steps already taken towards the centennial endowment fund, upon which is dependent the effective continuance of the work of the Society after the occupation of the new building. It is most important that the members of the Society understand clearly that the Society will be in a position to carry out the work for which it was founded in vastly better fashion than ever before, as soon as the collections and the staff are installed in the new building. It must also be understood that it will be impossible to expect results commensurate with the value of the library and with the opportunities which the new building will offer, unless the Society has an income sufficient to enable the officers of the Society to administer

the building in such a way as to make its resources fully available for the purposes of Scholars.

Two payments have already been received by the Treasurer to increase existing funds, and two to establish new permanent funds:

The Charles Francis Washburn Fund, established by Mr. Charles G. Washburn, who has sent to the Treasurer stocks of a market value of somewhat over \$5,000.

The Hunnewell Fund, established by a check for \$5,000, received from Mr. James F. Hunnewell.

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Fund has been increased by a payment of \$5000 from Mr. E. L. Davis and Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis has added \$1,000 to the John and Eliza Davis Fund.

No single event of the past year has given greater satisfaction to the members of the Council than the presentation at the meeting on March 18 of the following memorandum by Mr. Edward L. Davis and the passage of the two votes which follow:—

WORCESTER, March 18, 1910.

To the Council of the American Antiquarian Society,
Gentlemen:

I should like, if the Council approves, to change the terms of a gift of Five Thousand Dollars, to the Society, which I made April 28, 1891, as an addition to the Isaac Davis Fund, established by him, January 21, 1868.

As it reads now, the income is to be "applied to the purchase of books, maps, charts, and works of art, relating to that portion of North America lying south of the United States."

I respectfully propose the following change:—

The income of the Edward L. Davis addition, with its accumulations of interest, to be used, (a) To keep the principle good; (b) Whenever, in any year, the income is not needed, or wanted for the original object of the fund, it may be used, wholly or in part, for the general purposes or the Society. It is a fact that, not infrequently, the Society finds itself embarrassed by having its funds, as it were, tied up for specific purposes.

The change proposed will give more liberty of action and yet will not prevent using the income, when desired, in helping to carry out the original purpose of the fund.

EDWARD L. DAVIS.

Voted:—That the Council receives the communication made by Edward L. Davis, and gives its approval to the change therein proposed, touching the use of the income of that portion of the Isaac and Edward L. Davis Fund, contributed by Edward L. Davis, April 28, 1891, and the Finance Committee is hereby instructed to determine, what portion of the accumulations by interest of the said fund, previous to October 15, 1907, when the total amount of the fund was fixed at \$15,000, shall be considered as belonging to the portion contributed by Edward L. Davis.

A similar motion was then passed concerning the John and Eliza Davis Fund:—

Whereas the designated purpose to which the income of the John and Eliza Davis Fund is to be applied seems to have too limited a field, and whereas at the time when the fund was founded it was stated by the founders, through Andrew McFarland Davis who carried on the correspondence with the Society, that the income of the fund might be properly applied to any purpose, including the general expenses of the Society, it is now moved by Andrew McFarland Davis, in behalf of himself and the estate of John Chandler Baneroff Davis and Horace Davis, that the Committee have power hereafter to appropriate the income of this fund, in excess of that needed for specific purposes designated at the time of its foundation, to such purposes as they shall see fit.

The Library Committee of the Society, acting upon authority given them by vote of the Council, September 14, 1908, has deposited with the Peabody Museum of Harvard University the remainder of the ethnological and archaeological relics contained in the four glass cases which formerly stood in the main hall. In exchange for this collection the Peabody Museum is to present to the Antiquarian Society volumes to the extent of \$450.00. The Council feels grati-

fied to have these relics, few in number, unarranged and worthless for comprehensive study, deposited in an institution which can make the use of them that their importance warrants.

The Committee of Publication of the American Antiquarian Society submits the following report to the Council.

(a) *Work accomplished.*

As a partial result of work accomplished during the half year just completed your committee presents to you Volumes IX and X of the Society's Transactions, being the Diary of Isaiah Thomas, 1805-1828. An unfortunate delay in securing certain papers necessary for the completion of Volume XII of the Transactions has prevented the issuance of that Compilation of "Royal Proclamations concerning America, 1606-1783," but the volume will appear shortly. Some results of the work done upon the Manuscript collections of the Society were shown you at the meeting in October last when Volume XI of the Transactions—Manuscript Records of the French and Indian War—was presented for your approval. Work of this character has been shown since October by the publication in the last issue of the Proceedings and in separate form of the Journal of the Expedition of Sir William Pepperrell against Louisbourg, March-August, 1745, a contribution of over 50 pages edited by Charles H. Lincoln from the original manuscript in the collections of the Society.

Your committee feels that in the publication of material of this character the American Antiquarian Society is performing one of the most important functions that a Society of this kind can undertake. It is presenting to the public and more particularly to the historians and biographers among that public, original material to aid them in their work and some suggestion of the wealth of material in the possession of the Society which is open for their consultation. Other societies of a similar character are already making their resources known in these ways and are providing for themselves an ever increasing field of usefulness, and this

Society must not lag behind. Publications of this character are not a direct source of income, but they arouse and maintain an interest in the work of the Society and show the value of its possessions. For this reason if for no other we recommend a liberal appropriation for this work during the coming year. A brief outline of the material now ready for the press follows:

(b) Work planned.

A Calendar of the Correspondence of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, 1827-1835. In this correspondence some 1100 manuscripts are included, many of which could be printed in full to great advantage. Forming a companion volume to the Diary of Baldwin (Transactions, Vol. VIII) already issued, this publication would unite a history of the Society's library during a most important period of its growth to an intimate acquaintance with the Society's librarian and his literary friends.

A second collection of equal or greater importance is the group of Curwen Manuscripts. Aside from several volumes of notes and accounts this collection contains over 1,100 individual manuscripts grouped about the Corwin or Curwen family from 1640 to 1775. Among other than Curwen autographs in this group are many of Samuel Sewall, Robert Hale, Sir William Pepperrell, Governor William Shirley, and other leaders in the French War.

A third collection ready for publication is the six-volume group of Craigie manuscripts including over 600 letters. Here are papers descriptive of the settlement of the Ohio Valley and the rise and fortunes of the Scioto Company organized for that purpose. Important manuscripts give Washington's ideas for a canal or road to the Ohio, news from settlements in Kentucky, and negotiations with Robert Morris for the acquisition of the Genesee lands in western New York. A large portion of these papers discuss the question of European immigration into the western territory, the best location for the settlement of the people received, and the necessity that they understand American ideas and so prove a source of strength and not of weakness to their new country.

Other material suitable for publication includes comprehensive lists of the Almanacs, Maps, or Newspapers in the archives of the Society. In a word, your committee feels that abundant work has been done and is being done in the library of the American Antiquarian Society to warrant the continued issuance of printed volumes showing the value of this work. We appeal for not less than \$2,500, to provide for the publication work of the Society during the coming year, and feel that by such publications a rich return will come to this Society in the increased interest of the special public whom we desire to attract.

FRANKLIN P. RICE,
GEORGE H. HAYNES,
CHARLES L. NICHOLS,

For the Committee of Publication.

April 20, 1910.

The Council believes that the value of the Thomas Diary is largely due to the great amount of labor and numerous annotations made by Mr. Benjamin Thomas Hill. In recognition of Mr. Hill's generous contribution of time and effort, the Council, at its meeting yesterday, voted that ten sets of the Isaiah Thomas Diary, forming volumes IX and X of the Society's Transactions, be sent to Mr. Hill, with an expression of the deep appreciation felt by the Council of the Society for the generous and scholarly work given by him in the preparation of these volumes.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP,
For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

Henry C. Lea was born in Philadelphia, September 19, 1825, and died in that city October 24, 1909. He was the third generation of his family engaged in publishing who were all distinguished for literary and scientific attainments in Europe as well as in America, and the publishing house that they established still survives after more than one hundred and twenty-five years. By reason of ill health he withdrew from business life for a time, and began studies relating largely to the middle ages. He published several books regarding that period, perhaps the most notable of which were "A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages" and "A History of the Inquisition in Spain." He also published many other books, pamphlets and fugitive articles, and was actively engaged in agitation about civil service and many other reforms. The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania, and Princeton. He had been President of the American Historical Association and was a member of many learned societies in Europe and the United States.

He joined this Society in 1888.

S. U.

George Park Fisher was born in Wrentham, Massachusetts, August 10, 1827, and died in Litchfield, Connecticut, December 20, 1909. He was graduated from Brown University in 1847, studied theology at Yale, Andover, and in Germany till 1854, when he was appointed to the Livingston professorship in the school of divinity at Yale, being also a college preacher. Later he became professor of ecclesiastical history, which position he held till his health failed just before his death. As a professor he was eminent among those who have moulded modern Congregationalism

and have given it its broad, progressive tendencies. His publications are numerous and show the breadth and variety of his scholarship combined with great clearness, force, and beauty of expression. He received the degree of D. D. from Harvard, Brown, Edinburgh and Princeton, and that of LL. D. from Yale and Princeton. He became a member of this Society in 1879 and contributed an appreciative tribute to Prof. O. C. March for the meeting in October, 1899.

S. U.

LIFE AT HARVARD A CENTURY AGO

AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE LETTERS AND PAPERS OF
STEPHEN SALISBURY, CLASS OF 1817.

BY BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL.

In the collection of the manuscripts of the Salisbury family, which has come into the possession of the Society, is one series of letters which are of especial interest as showing in some measure the college life and customs at Harvard a century ago:—the correspondence between the second Stephen Salisbury and his parents during his college course, from 1813 to 1817.

After two years of preparation at Leicester Academy, Stephen Salisbury entered college in the fall of 1813, when he was fifteen years old.

There was a little group of six buildings at Harvard at that time:—Harvard Hall, containing the college library of 15,000 volumes; Holden Chapel; and the four dormitories, Massachusetts, Hollis, Stoughton and Holworthy, the latter built in 1812, from the proceeds of a lottery. University Hall, completed in 1814, contained four dining halls for the college commons on the ground floor, with two kitchens beneath, six lecture rooms on the second floor, and a chapel above.

In the faculty were thirteen professors, including those of medicine and divinity; four tutors, of whom Edward Everett was one; and an instructor in rhetoric and oratory, and one in French. There were also thirteen resident graduates. Of the 301 undergraduates, 86 were in the freshman class, which numbered among its members George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing, Samuel A. Eliot, George B. Emerson, Samuel J. May and Stephen H. Tyng.

There was little of college life as we know it now. The diversity of outside interests and amusements of the present day was wanting; and the students were kept under as strict surveillance by the authorities as they are now in most of the preparatory schools. Organized athletics and games were unknown, and the chief forms of exercise were walking and riding. An item in young Salisbury's accounts in his freshman year shows that he paid six cents for a football; and his father writes "Your Scates shall be sent you but you must not scate on any Ponds or Rivers nor neglect your studies for any Amusements"; while his mother implores him to skip rope in his room when it is too stormy to take his customary walk. In his junior year he belonged to the college military company, and took lessons in dancing.

There is no mention of his being a member of any society, nor does he appear to have mixed much with the other students nor to have had many intimate friends. He lived outside the college, at Captain Luther Dana's, where were four of his classmates:—George Bancroft, with whom he roomed, John L. Payson, Joseph Ray and Samuel Soley, and one sophomore, Charles Hammond.

There are nearly three hundred letters in the collection. As the following extracts show, they dealt largely with his daily routine life, his studies and his health. He was as much under the influence and control of his parents as if he had lived at home. His dress was prescribed, his actions and conduct determined and an accurate account of all his expenses required.

In reading these family letters, it should be borne in mind, not only that college discipline and methods have greatly changed, but also that this college student was a boy of but fifteen years, who had practically never been away from home before. That he was not lavishly supplied with spending money, and that he was held strictly to account for every penny, are indications not of parsimony but of thrift, and a purpose that he should learn frugality and exactness in all money matters. There is abundant evidence (to cite but a single illustration, in the bills for his

commencement dinner, at the end of this paper) that upon occasion money was liberally supplied.

The first letters are from Leicester, and relate to his entrance examinations at Cambridge.

Leicester July 17th 1813

Dear Mother

Will you please to send me my Greek Majora (not Minora) (which I believe you can get at M^r Trumbull's), and my atlass and the second volume of Websters mathematics which I left in the book closet I think last monday, which was the second day I wore them, I burst my silk pantaloons on each side of the seat, in runing; and therefore I have sent them home. I saw Unele William in the stage the other day. give my duty to my Father and love to my friends.

Your dutifull Son S Salisbury jr

Leicester August 1813

Dear Mother

I delayed writing to you, because I expected to be examined by M^r Nurse this afternoon, in the books which are required at college,¹ but as he is gone away this afternoon, it will be put off till monday; M^r Clark and M^r Nurse both think I can enter. I should like to come home a week from next saturday, which is the week before exhibition. M^r Clark says I fail the most in writing latin, because I have not atended to it before, but by a little practise I shall get so as to write well. I sent my vest in a silk pockethandkercheif by M^r Stearns. give my duty to father. I remain your

dutifull Son

Stephen Salisbury J^r

¹ *Terms of admission to the Freshman or Lowest Class.*—

Every person admitted, must be thoroughly acquainted with the Grammar of the Latin and Greek languages, and with the following books, viz. Dalzel's *Collectanea Graeca Minora*, the Greek Testament, Virgil, Sallust, Cicero's *Select Orations*, and with the following rules of Arithmetic, viz. Notation, Simple and Compound Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication, and Division, Reduction, and the Single Rule of Three. He must be able to translate English into Latin correctly.

In 1815. — Ancient and Modern Geography. And in 1816. — The whole of Arithmetic will be required in the addition to above.

Dear Stephen

Worcester Oct^r 14 1813

I have sent you this day by M^r Paul Gates the Sulkey Baggs Cont^g a Baggs with 5 Vol^s Millet History — and the Art of Speaking — a Box of Wafers & a Bundle of Stockings — Also your Hatt—

When ever you send up your Clothes or any thing else you will first put them in the inside Baggs & Tye that Baggs up & put them into the Sulkey Baggs Remembering to tye up the Strings & Buckle every Strap that belongs to the Sulkey Baggs, that nothing may be lost out on the Wagon procure the Laws of the College, Study them often & obey them — Attend to your Studies — and conduct yourself in such a Manner, as to meritt a Good name, as a Scholar and for good behaviour — be Cautious in the Chose of your intimate Acquaintance, be civil to all, but intimate with few — I am dear Stephen — Your Affectionate father
Stephen Salisbury

Dear Mother

I am disapointed in not receiving a letter from you. Mama I have a request to make you know my room is on the lower floor so that every body that goes by can see what we are about, for instance, saturday Uncle Edward rode out to see me, and as he did not wish to get off he rode up to the window and looked in and when he saw me there, he rapped on the window for me to come out; also my classmates when they want our company in a walk, have only to stand before the house and look and see whether we are there, and then call to us; therefore I should be much obliged to you if you would send me four short curtains, such as I have no doubt you have seen, which are put on a little below the midle of the window, I should like to have them made with rings so as to draw. Mama will you please to send me a little more money, I have spent all that I had except one dollar and 6 cents. Please to give my duty to my father. I must get my lesson for I must go in, in half an hour.

Your dutiful Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

Cambridge Oct 27 1813

Dear Mother

I received my first quarter bill the other day which was \$23, and 82 cts, 10\$ of which Papa paid in advance, when he gave my bond. My time passes a great deal pleasanter than I expected. * * * As it is after ten I must look over my lesson and go to bed, for I have to recite before breakfast. I have not received my bundle yet. Good night. Friday morn. I have just received my bundle; I was much disappointed in not receiving my curtains; for I cannot do without them for when we are dressing, nothing hinders people who are going by from looking in upon us; not only that but saucy young fellows, going by, first look in to see whether there [are those] within strong enough to oppose them if there are not they strike on the window to frighten us and almost push it in now if we had curtains they would not know how large we were; and then we could go to the window and drive [them] of and curtains two feet from the bottom of the window could not darken the room much. will you please to send me 13 dollars and 82 cents to pay my bill. Mama will you please to send me some apples and nuts, please to give my duty to my Father.

Your dutiful son,

Stephen Salisbury, Jr.

The quarter bill and the bond which was required of every student upon matriculation, follow.

Stephen Salisbury

To the PRESIDENT & FELLOWS of *Harvard College* Dr.

To his first Quarter Bill, ending Sept^r 30, 1813
Interest to be paid if not discharged within

	three months	DOLLS.	CENTS
Steward and Commons	- - - - -	2.	50
Sizings	- - - - -		
Study and Cellar Rent	- - - - -		
Instruction	- - - - -	11.	
Librarian	- - - - -		

Natural History - - - - -		
Medical Instruction - - - - -		
Episcopal Church - - - - -		
Books - - - - -	9.	48
Catalogue and Commencement Dinner		44
Repairs and Fewel - - - - -		36
Sweepers and Sand - - - - -		4
Assessments for delinquency in payment of Quarter Bills - - - - -		
Wood - - - - -		
Fines - - - - -		
	23.	82
Credit by Cash in advance	10.	
	13.	82

Nov^r 20 1813 Rec^d payment

Caleb Gannett Coll Steward.

KNOW All Men by These Presents,

That we, Stephen Salisbury of Worcester in the County of Worcester, and Josiah Salisbury of Boston in the County of Suffolk and Commonwealth of Massachusetts Merchants

are holden and firmly bound and obliged to the President and Fellows of HARVARD COLLEGE in the sum of two hundred ounces of silver,² to be paid unto the said President and Fellows of Harvard College; to the which payment well and truly to be made we bind ourselves, our heirs, executors, and administrators, jointly and severally, firmly by these presents.

Sealed with our seals this *Twenty second* day of *September* Annoque Domini 1813.

² During the War of 1812, when silver was more valuable than gold, it was common for payments to be agreed upon in "ounces of silver," and its value being estimated in cash, payment was made by check.

The condition of this present obligation is such,

That if the above-bounden Stephen Salisbury & Josiah Salisbury

their heirs, executors, and administrators, or either of them, shall once every quarter of a year well and truly pay, or cause to be paid, unto the said President and Fellows of Harvard College, or such person or persons as that Corporation shall appoint to receive the same, the whole of such sum or sums of money as shall become due from Stephen Salisbury Jun^r a minor, and one of the students of the said College, and shall be duly and regularly charged to him in his quarter bills, or otherwise, according to the laws and customs of the said College; together with such sum as may be assessed upon him by the President and Tutors, to repair his chamber or study, should any damage be done to them during the commencement season, when he shall take his degree; then this obligation shall be void and of none effect, or else shall stand and remain in full force and virtue.

Stephen Salisbury (seal)

Signed, sealed and delivered

Josiah Salisbury (seal)

in presence of

Daniel Scott Jun^r

Milton Johnson

Cambridge Oct

Dear Mother

this morning when I was in at prayers³ M^r Gates left your letter and the pail. I get along a good deal better in

³ All persons, of whatever degree, residing at the College, and all Undergraduates, whether dwelling in the College, or in the town, shall constantly and seasonably attend the worship of God in the chapel, morning and evening; and, if any Undergraduate come to Prayers after the exercises are begun, he shall be fined two cents; and if he shall be absent from Prayers without sufficient reason, he shall be fined three cents for every such neglect. And if any Undergraduate shall be remarkable for frequent tardiness, or absence from the religious exercises of the chapel, the President after particular enquiry into the reasons of this neglect, judging them insufficient, shall

my studies than I did at first. my teeth do not trouble me at all except sometimes when I am out in the cold air. Saturday as I was going out of Boston I met M^r Walter Channing Lady and Daughters but as they did not recognize me I did not speak to them. M^{rs} Dana is getting better slowly I like very much except that it is directly over M^{rs} Dana's room and if I make the least noise, such as cracking a nut, it disturbs her; I much prefer living alone to living with a chum. last week you forgot to send me a towel and I thinking there were more in the draw sent home the one I was using, so I had to borrow one of M^{rs} Giddings. I have got another quarter bill and no fines yet. I shall enclose this in a letter to Papa.

With the pail
containing

Your dutiful Son

Stephen Salisbury J^r

1 night shirt
1 flannel waistcoat
3 shirts
4 p^r stockings
1 vests
2 cravats
4 handkerchiefs
1 head do

give him a private admonition; if he persist in his neglect, he shall be admonished by the President, Professors and Tutors. And if he do not reform, he shall be degraded, suspended, or rusticated, according to the continuance of the offence.

* * * * *

If any Undergraduate shall be guilty of indecent or irreverent behaviour at Prayers, or of any disorderly conduct immediately before or after Prayers in the Chapel, he shall be fined a sum not exceeding one dollar, or shall be liable to admonition, degradation, suspension, or rustication, according to the aggravation of the offence.

* * * * *

If any Scholar shall be absent from the public worship on either part of the Lord's Day, or upon public Fasts and Thanksgivings, without offering a sufficient reason, before the ringing of the second bell, if the case will allow it, to the President or one of the Tutors, he shall be fined thirty-three cents. And if any Scholar shall come to public worship after the exercise is begun, he shall be fined not exceeding eleven cents. And if any one shall be remarkable for frequent absence from public worship, he shall be liable to the same punishment as one, who is remarkable for frequent absence from the religious exercises of the Chapel. And whoever shall be guilty of irreverent or indecent behaviour at public worship, or without sufficient reason go out at the time of public worship, shall be fined not exceeding one dollar, or shall be punished by admonition, degradation, suspension, or rustication, according to the aggravation of the offence.

Worcester 3d Nov^r 1813

My dear Child,

You are still I find, very desirous of having Curtains to your Windows, & did I know that you would be accommodated by them as you expect, I would indulge you, but I can hardly suppose it, those who would intrude on you at improper seasons, & otherwise behave improperly, would still do so tho' you had Curtains. Could they not look thro' or over them? I last week rec'd a letter from your Uncle Edward, he inform'd me he had been to see you three times, that you appeared quite well, and was occupied as could be wished. this was very welcome news to me, & I wish my dear that you should always be in a situation to be seen by any who may call, which you certainly will if you are in the path of duty. do not I entreat you let trifling and Childish pursuits take your time and attention from your studies, and so be obliged to get your lesson at a late hour, that would be foolish conduct & I hope you will avoid it. I hope you had your Hair Cut some of these fine warm days we have had, & that you dont fail to comb and brush your hair ev'ry day. if it has not yet been cut take some fine day and do not have it cut very short. do not neglect your teeth, if you do they will be the worse for what has been done to them. clean them ev'ry day I charge you. keep yourself clean & neat, it is not incompatible with your duties, nor unbecoming in the Scholar, be assured.

Your affectionate mother

E Salisbury.

S. S. Jun^r Acct of Pockett Expences
Sept 30 to Nov 28 1813

Spent bro ^t from		\$14.12
	for crape.....	.25
	biscuit.....	.02
	apples to teamster...	.25
Nov 30 Am ^t of Cash	G Bell.....	.06
Rec ^d	21.70 Gingerbread.....	.04
	Cuting hair	.18

		G Bell	.03
		biscuit	.01
Book	\$13.67	Ray	.01
			<u>\$14.97</u>
omission	1.30	pears	.02
	<u>\$14.97</u>	Cake	.06
		cake	.03
		Sam ^l Salisbury tea . .	.12
		stages	.50
			<u>0.73</u>
		chesnuts	.12
S S Jun ^r New Account for		foot ball	.06
Cash on hand	0.99	biscuit	.02
due from G Bancroft	.56	chesnuts	.02
		gingerbread	.04
	1.55	G Bell	.03
Cash dld him			
	10.00	Gingerbread	.06
Noy 28		Hoarhound candy . .	.12
		stages	.50
			<u>0.97</u>
Book	19.58	sealing wax	.12
Lent Bancroft . . .	1.02	Cake	.04
lent Gustavus . . .	.25	Oysters	.07
Lent Tyng	.25	Cake	.03
measuring wood . .	3	pears	.04
	<u>21.13</u>	pd uncle Gustavus . .	.25
		stages	.50
fare to Worcester			1.00
		Cake	.10
fare to Framingham	\$1.50		
fast .50			
Horse to Boston	20 Cent		
Toll 11 ^d			2.31
			<u>4.46</u>
		fare to Framingham . .	.50
			<u>21.13</u>

Cambridge Dec^r 9th 1813

Dear Mother

I have just received my bundle by M^r G. I am very sorry to find my clothes wet through and through, but I will take care to air them well. Yesterday we were excused to go in to M^r Francis Parkman's⁴ ordination, I went in to see it; M^r Channing preached and really excelled himself, D^r Kirkland made the ordaining prayer, and Uncle Joseph gave the right hand of fellowship. Mamma, I was mistaken, we don't receive our next quarter bill until the beginning of next term. mamma will you please to tell Eliza I have not received her letter. Give my duty to my father

Your dutiful Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

Worcester, Feb^y 14, 1814

My dear son—

I rec^d your Letter by M^r Heywood which you say you wrote at my request — why then not inform me, when you arrived at your Grandfathers — whether you had a pleasant time down how you found your Grandfather & other friends as to their health — whether they appeared Glad to see you — how long you staid with them — when you went to Cambridge, how you was received there, what Occationed your Call to Boston so soon after you left it — &c — dear Stephen why will you not Endeavour to Anticipate the Wishes of your friends — You did not mention in your Letter of receiving your Trunk by M^r Gates — though you return^d the matt that was round it in the Sulkey Baggs, which came up very wett — Whenever you receive a Letter a Bundle a Box or any other package, alway, in your Letter mention what you had received and in what order — And when you send any up Also mention what you have sent and by whom.

My Dear Son as your future prospects depend upon your prosecuting your present Studies with fidelity — lose not the present time Neglect not a Lesson — Endeavour not to be behind any of your Class in a thorough knowledge

⁴ Mr. Parkman was ordained over the New North Church.

of every Lesson required of you, and by your Close Application and good Conduct, may you meritt the Esteem and Approbation of all your Instructors — With much solicitude for your Welfare I Remain

Your Affectionate father

Stephen Salisbury

Expenses at College in the Term
from Sept to December 1813

To 12 Weeks board in Commons at	
Two Dollars & Eighty Cents	\$33.60
To four months rent of Room	2.00
	\$35.60

Expenses at Capt. Dana's

To 12 Weeks board at \$3.50	\$42.00
To 4 months Room Rent	10.00
Deduct	35.60

Difference \$16.40

Worcester February 14th 1814

Received Sixteen Dollars & forty Cents
of Mr. Stephen Salisbury

Aaron Bancroft

Cambridge Feb^y 18th 1814

Honored Father

I have just received your kind letters by M^r Gates. I arrived at Grandpas about five oclock tuesday night and staid there untill wednesday afternoon I found Grandpapa much better than I expected he was then so well as to be able to walk about the house and since I have been so happy as to hear that he had got out, I found Unele and Aunt Salisbury and as well as usual. when I got to Cambridge they were very kind to me and appeard glad to see me. I must confess sir that curiosity and to see my friends were my only motives for my going into town on Saturday. I am

very sorry that I was so careless as to omit acknowledging the receipt of my trunk which came in very good order. I am very much pleased with the pail you sent my clothes in. in this shall enclose a letter to my mother remember me to all my friends

I am Your dutiful Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

Cambridge 21st Feb'y 1814

My dear Son,

Your letters were rec'd this morn. I am Grieved that you are so afflicted with the tooth-ache cannot you my dear collect courage sufficient to have the worst one extracted by Greenwood? if you could, I think you might obtain some relief. I am affraid you are careless of exposure, & in that way take cold, by all means avoid *sitting or standing still* after great exercise, such as snow-balling for instance. * * * * it delights me to have an oppertunity for commendation, be assured, and your letters rec'd to-day have afforded me one — they are wonderfully better than any you have before written, & with the exception of a few small mistakes, very well — persevere my Son, and I shall soon have letters I shall be proud of.

* * * *

Your affectionate mother

Elizabeth Salisbury.

Will you accept of a little Gingerbread my Son? take care not to make your poor tooth ache. You had better cut but little of it at a time.

Cambridge Feb'y 26th

Dear Mother

I received your letter by M^r Gates with my bundle, and the box of Cake, (which I am very much obliged to you for,) this afternoon. I dont think that I can wear my every day waistcoat more than a week or fortnight more at most; for it has got most too bad to wear even in Colledge. * * * we have to study pretty hard this term. my tooth aches

so often, that I dont mind it so much as though it ached more seldom. I take so little exercise, that there is no danger of my taking cold, by suddenly cooling myself. I am very much pleased that my letters gave you pleasure, and I hope I shall better deserve your praises. please to give my duty to my father, and tell him I am happy to hear he is better, and shall write him next week. please to remember me to Eliza. I have got well of my cold.

I am, your dutifull

Son Stephen Salisbury Jr

Cambridge March 24

Dear Father

I am sorry I am not able to write you oftener but the tutors keep us so busily employed there is hardly any time for ourselves. it is allowed they make us study harder than any class before; I find Sir that now I have so much writing to do (for one day I have to translate latin into english and another english into latin and every day we have to do sums and set them down in a manuscript) I find I like it much better than I used to. *** will you please to send me down a little bottle of ink.

I am Your obedient Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

Cambridge March 30

Dear Mother

Your letter with the pail I received by Mr Gates before breakfast. I dont know how I can ever repay your kindness. I do not mean to wear that waistcoat untill the weather gets more warm. * * * last saturday I went to dine at uncle Salisbury's and I felt very well except a toothache in the forenoon, but just as the fruit came on I was so faint that I could not stand, then I drank some wine and Mr John Leveret led me out into the air and I soon got over my faintness Uncle and Aunt were very kind to me and wanted me to stay there, but I thought I was able to get out to Cam-

bridge in the stage. the stage⁵ had not gone out so I rode home and put my feet in water before I went to bed and when I got up Sunday morn I felt better, and then I dont know but I should have been sick had it not been for chum he said I was not any more sick than he was so when I saw he would not think I was sick I thought it was best to get over it as soon as possible. I have been perfectly well ever since.

* * * *

I am

Your dutifull

Son Stephen Salisbury Jr

April 1814

Dear Mother

this morn when my letters came I was at prayers. I have had this week the honor of a visit from Uncle Joseph. I am pretty well except an ague which has hung on me for about three days. it takes me by starts, and sometimes for a minute or two it is very painful, when it is most painful the only thing I can do to ease it, is to lay that side of my face on the bed, and shut my mouth. it is said that the collodge government intend to *prohibit us from going into town more than once a month*. I am sorry, Mama, to ask again so soon for some more money, but there are two books I want, viz. Lempriere's dictionary and Mackays tables which will cost \$5 certainly and perhaps more. I am very much pleased with my shoes. * * * *

I am your dutiful

Son Stephen Salisbury Jr

Worcester April 20th 1814

My dear Son,

Last thursday I re'ed your letter, with the kit containing your cloaths.* * * You do not I hope use any hot things when you have the tooth-Ache. Your Uncle Salisbury & Aunt have been making us a visit, they left us on Monday after Dinner. Your Uncle mentioned that you *Run* when

⁵ The stage from Boston to Cambridge ran twice daily at 12 and 6 o'clock.

you should walk – you own'd that you run most of the way from Cambridge – now this is very wrong, as you must be sensible, violent exercise is not proper, but moderate, is exceedingly beneficial to health, will you remember this my dear? * * * * I want to see you my dear Child, write me how your health is, and always remember that I am your friend and Mother

Elizabeth Salisbury.

Your Father sends you \$10, and says on giving it me - "I hope S. keeps his accounts correct" -

Cambridge April 24 1814

Honored Father

I thought that now as I have got back to my room it would be proper for me to write how I am. I feel now as well if not better than I did before I was sick. Yesterday I dined at Uncle Salisbury's Uncle and Aunt are pretty well. Grandpapa when I left him he had a bad cold and headache, says he hopes to go to Worcester soon. I rode out in the stage yesterday. I don't at all like these east winds. Will you please Sir to tell Mama I found that odd stocking she spoke of in the corner of my bag. I have heard that the procession of the W[ashington] B[enevolent] society will be very splendid this year, they will have more standards and more boys than they did last. Will you please Sir to send me my English Grammar and batting ball. I hope papa you will write me, I have been expecting one this great while. I received the ten dollars you sent me, and I am much obliged to you for it. I make out my accounts⁶ very

6 Stephen Salisbury Esquire to L. Dana	-	-	-	-	-	-	D ^r
Board and Diet for your Son Stephen Student at Colledge.	13 weeks between the						
10 th Feby and 18 th May	@ \$4.00	-	-	-	-	-	\$52.—
19 th May 1814	-						

Received Payment in full
Luther Dana.

George Bancroft's expenses at College from February to May 1814.

To 13½ Weeks board in Commons at	\$2.73
	\$36.85
To rent of Room ½ year	2
	38.85

as yet and hope I shall continue to do so. please to give my duty to my mother and love to Eliza.

I am Sir ever Your dutiful Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

P S *I am a little homesick*

Sunday Eve

Cambridge [June] 19th 1814

Dear Mother

yesterday I received your favor by Mr Rice and he went directly so that I had no time to answer it. Next tuesday we have to be examined in all the studies we have been over the last year, the Corporation will be all day examining us, as it approaches I grow more courageous about it. I got my straw hat Mrs Powars charges one dollar and six cents for what she did to it, it is a fine one Mama and I am much obliged to you for it, it is much admired. The day of the solemn festival,⁷ the President said that all the students ought to attend, so we had but one exercise and that in the morning that day I went into town and attended church, the performances were extraordinary; I shall enclose you the order of exercises and the resolutions which were voted by the congregation. I am sorry that I have not a white waistcoat to wear examination. I should like, Mama, to have you send me some more of my money. I should like it very much if you could once in a while send me a little fruit, for there is very little in Cambridge. Give my respect

To 13½ Weeks at Capt. Dana's at \$4½

\$54:00

To Rent Room ½ year

10:00

64.00

\$64.00

38.85

\$25.15

Worcester June 2^d 1814

Received of Mr Stephen Salisbury Twenty five Dollars & fifteen Cents,

Aaron Bancroft,

⁷ This was a thanksgiving service held at King's Chapel, after the receipt of the news of the first abdication of Bonaparte.

to my Father and tell him I intend to write him after Examination. please to give my love to Eliza.

from your dutiful son, Stephen Salisbury Jr

P S I am in usual health
sunday eve.

P S Respecting chumming I spoke to Samuel Sewal and he said he was engaged to Samuel May Bancroft has got a chum; for my part I am at a loss who to chum with; there are none in our Class I like well enough.⁸ as soon as examination is over I intend to write you how I make out.

Yours S

Worcester 20th June 1814

My dear Stephen,

last eve'g we rec'd your cloaths by Mr. Rice, was sorry you had not a letter ready for him, there was not time, I am aware, to write after you saw him. I send you by Mr. Heywood some Cloaths, you will find amongst them a new waistcoat which is I think very handsome, and a black silk one, made of one of your fathers, which will do to wear accationally, it will not bear constant wear. I should think you might wear any of your colour'd waistcoats a week, *with care*. the old loose gown will do, 'till I have time to make the new one. I had rather you should wear 3 shirts a week than not - those fine cambric neck cloaths are very pretty for Summer. Send by Mr. H. all you have dirty, not forgetting the bed Quilt, & Sheets. * * * * may I hope & trust that you are *Industrious & good*? I am sure if you love me you will compel me to think so.

Tuesday/ - this day at noon I rec'd your letter by Mail. I suppose this is your examination day - I am sorry a little, that you had not a handsome waist-coat for the occasion, but I shall be *very* sorry if you tell me you did not do well. you must write us all about it. with regard to a Chum, I would not have you anxious, nor hasty to decide. who has B. got? I hope you will observe the utmost propriety

⁸ College rooms were assigned to the students at the discretion of the faculty.

& decorum this ev'g, you must know I am thinking of the supper, you told you desir'd to make one at. I have sent your white pantaloons, you may like to wear them of a very hot Sabbath with your thin Coat & white socks. if you wish to appear well dress'd at any time wear white socks with your Nankin pantaloons. I would not have you wear those blue clouded socks in to Boston, they will do for * * * keep yourself neat, not forgetting the * * * soap - comb - & tooth brush. * * * *

Your affectionate friend & Mother

E Salisbury

Cambridge June 23rd 1814

Honored Sir,

Tuesday last, was our examination day I made out much better than I expected. H G Otis addressed us he being Chairman of the committee, he said, we had given good proof of our dilligence, and gave us very good advice, he told us that we should not wish to go to a better College as Oxford and Edinburgh until we were sure we had learnt perfectly all that could be learnt here. I went last Saturday to see the Launch⁹ but was disappointed, but yesterday in the afternoon as it was to be launched we had leave to go provided we would get a double lesson for the next recitation I went to see her again and she went off nicely, they fired twelve guns as a salute from the Constitution and they were answered by twelve from the navy yard. I have been expecting a letter from you and I am very sorry to be so disapointed, I hope I shall recieve one from you soon. I have but this sheet of letter paper, now therefore I shall write to Mama on the other side. I am Sir Your obedient Son Stephen Salisbury Jr

Dear Mother

This morn I recieved your letter by M^r Heywood he said he should be back very soon so I shant have time to

⁹ The launch of the frigate *Independence*.

write much. * * * * you asked who Baneroft has got for a chum he has been very lucky I think his intended chums name is Carter he is deaf of one ear but he is a good scholar and a clever fellow I believe. * * * *

Worcester 27th June 1814

Dear Stephen,

I send you by Mr Gates a new Gown¹⁰ which I have made for you, when you have try'd it, you must let me know how it suits you, and also how the new pair of white Cotton Socks fit you. I have sent some pieces of your Blue Cassimere pantaloons to mend them with, get some person to do them, who will do them neatly. I am sorry if you cannot find a Chum in your own Class, I would not have you get one in a lower Class. has Thompson got a Chum? * * * *
in great haste your Affectionate

Mother

E. Salisbury.

Worcester July 22, 1814

My dear son -

Yesterday I rec^d your Letter by the mail inclosing your Quarterly Bill, which I shall send you the money to discharge had you copied the Qterly Bill, in your Letter, I should not have had to pay double postage for that Letter - You will remember for the futher - that every Scrap of paper you enclose in a Letter pays 10 C^{ts} postage in addition to postage of the Letter itself.

¹⁰ A clause in the College Laws (1807) explains the use of the word "gown" in these letters:—

"All the Undergraduates shall be clothed in coats of blue grey, or of dark blue, or of black. And no Student shall appear within the limits of the College or town of Cambridge in a coat of any other color, unless he shall have on a night gown, or, in stormy or cold weather, an outside garment over his coat. Nor shall a surtout, or any outside garment of any other color than a blue grey, or dark blue, or black, be substituted for the uniform coat. But the Students are permitted to wear black gowns, in which they may appear on all public occasions. They shall not wear gold or silver lace, cord, or edging upon their hats, waistcoats, or any other parts of their clothing. And whosoever shall violate any of these regulations shall be fined a sum not less than eighty cents, nor more than one dollar and sixty cents, for each offence; and if any one persist in such violation, he shall be subject to higher censures."

I have repeatedly told you to apply to your Uncle Joseph and Cousin Josiah, for any advise you might at any time stand in need of – that you would find them always willing to befriend you they are both acquainted with the Rules & regulations of the College, the advantage or disadvantage that attends having a Room in College and boarding out – In selecting your Chum, you will have a Regard to his general Character, both as a friend & Scholar. You must attend also to have a comfortable Room – dont fail to Ask their Opinion upon every Oecation that concerns you, and acquaint me at the same time — I do hope & Expect you will get through the freshman year without a fine – and that you will Endeavour to be able to pass through College not only without a Censure but with applause –

Your Affectionate father

Stephen Salisbury

I have enclosed your Quarterly Bill & 17 Boston Bills to discharge the same, the 33 Cents you will receive in Change you will account for in Account of your Expencees – wont you ask M^r Gannett how to happens that his Quarterly Bill Ends at the commencement of the Quarter—when you pay him he will receipt on the Bill which you will take care of and return me by a private safe hand or bring up with you at the Vacancy.¹¹

Cambridge August 15th 1814

Dear Mother

I dont know how it is but I have not recieved answers to my last letters I am afraid they have been miscarried. as I had petitioned for a room with P the only way I could do was to room out, therefore I ask'd Capt Dana if I could have his room on the second story it has a bed room to it, and it is a good light room; now the only thing to do is to determine whether to chum alone or with a next years freshman; you [know] how it is when you have a chum. you

¹¹ There were three vacations during the year: – Four weeks from Commencement (the fourth Wednesday in August); seven weeks from the fourth Wednesday in December; and two weeks from the third Wednesday in May.

cannot always think alike or feel alike. when one wants to study the other will want to talk even when both want to study, when sitting together, they have strong temptations to begin to talk, and sometimes when one wants to study or write (as now it is the case) the other will bring in company and disturb the one who is writting, and when a person rooms alone, he is at ease and can have company when he pleases. will you please to send me an answer by the next mail, and Mama will you tell me whether I may stay to commencement or not (we are allowed to go away the friday before) you know I have never seen one. if you permit me to stay will you please to send me five dollars more Please to give my respects to my Father

In Health, I am,

Your dutiful son,

Stephen Salisbury Jr

Cambridge Oct (1814)

Honored Sir

I was dissappointed in not recieving an answer to my letter. I hope you will excuse my not writing more frequently, for I have so much to do now I am pressed for time for I have (every other day) today to go to writting schooll from 8 to 10 after that I have to get 4 pages of Latin to recite at quarter past 11 we get out of recitation at 12 then we dine at one, then after dinner we have to get a lesson in Geometry to recite at 4 we are kept in the recitation till most 5 then we have prayers and immediately afterwards supper and in the evening we have to get 3 or 4 pages of

Stephen Salisbury Esq^r

To Luther Dana D^r

To 12 Weeks board and Diet during Summer Term of Colledge. For Master Stephen Salisbury. (Student)

@ \$4.00 p ^r Week	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$48.—
To Room rent in Company with M ^r Bancroft one year @ 60\$ p ^r year.								Attendance	
of Chambermaid inclusive	-	-	-		half 60	-		30.—	

\$78.—

3^d Sep^r 1814 -

Received Payment for the Above

L. Dana

latin to recite at 6 o'clock next morning so you see Sir we have full employment. * * * *

I am Sir, with respect

Your dutifull Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

Cambridge Nov 3rd 1814

Dear Mother

I have just recieved your letter and the pail containing sheets clothes and paper and quilts. * * * * tuesday was exhibition day the performances were in the new Chapel Uncle came and after exhibition calld to see me. next sabbath we shall attend public worship in the Chapel and a church will be organized within the walls of College¹² * * *

Your dutiful

Son Stephen Salisbury Jr

Worcester Novem^r 4 1814

Dear Stephen

I rec^d your several Letters, one of which inclosed your first Quarterly Bill, amounting to \$15-11 - have here inclosed you 2 Boston Bank Bills 10 & 5 \$15 00 the odd 11 Cents you will make up, and discharge this Bill which is here inclosed. have it receipt^d on - take care and return the Bill when you come home - I sent you this Week by M^r Gates, a Quire of Letter Paper and a Bunch Dutch Quils - the Week before I sent you a flat Ruler, which I concluded you would want - I notice in your Letters you often mention how hard you have to Study. I hope you do not View it as a task - but the most desirable and pleasant amusement, and which will reward you for your diligence and perseverance —

Your Affectionate father

Stephen Salisbury

¹² Until 1812 the college had held its religious services with the First Parish of Cambridge; but in that year the Board of Overseers recommended to the Corporation that it would be for the benefit of the students that religious instruction should be given within the college. Upon the completion of the chapel in University Hall, at this time, a separation from the first Parish was effected, and college services have been held by the college since.

My dear Father

Cambridge Feby 14 1815

I dont doubt you have heard of the arrival of his H B M Brig Favorite in New York bringing the good news that a treaty of peace has been signed by our Commissioners. I have not seen the handbill and therefore I cannot say upon what terms and indeed I am not certain they are mentioned. In Boston they rejoiced as loud as they could by setting all the bells to ringing and mounting everything like a gun on sledges and carts and firing them in every part; All the Independent companies appear'd in uniform to express their joy. In College we were not much more moderate, the company fired the federal salute; at prayers at night the singers sang an anthem and in the evening between the hours of 8 and 9 the colleges were brilliantly illumined. We have had so much rejoicing to do we have hardly got settled yet. I never felt so homesick as I have this term. I got down Safe at 20 minutes before 3. the passengers had agreed not to stop for dinner but three of (us) got some pie so that we did very well * * * *

Your dutiful son

Stephen—————J^r

Dear Mother

Cambridge Feb^y 14 1815

I arrived here safe at a little before three oclock. * * * Papa will tell you all I know about the peace it realy seems too good to be true; I never saw so much confusion any time during the war as the people make in rejoicing for the peace, what a terrible disapointment it would be if it should turn out to be untrue (of which I believe there is no danger) or if the President should not ratifie it. When I first heard the news I determind to write home immediately but upon consideration I thought you would hear sooner by the stage than I could get a letter to you. I like Commons rather better than I expected, the coffee (which you know is my favorite) is in general as good as M^{rs} Dana and bread is good, the meat tolerable, so that I do very well. * * * *

Your dutiful Son

Stephen ————— J^r

Dear Mother

Cambridge July 12 1815

I received the pail last evening by Mr Gates, and was sorry to find I had no letter, Mr G told me the reason you did not write. I was very sorry to see 2 pair of nankin pantaloons for I dont see how I shall manage to wear them all; and by next year they will be so small that I shall be obliged to have them peiced and you know how I dislike that, it looks very ill; but if they had not been made until next year they would have been fitted for my shape and I have enough for this season, besides them. I did not go into town last saturday because it was so rainy and therefore have not seen Uncle and Aunt S since their return. I have some thought of going in today for we have nothing to do as it is the day for the examination of the senior class. I hope you will give up all hopes of my having a part, for I am certain I shall not get one I have call on D^r Warren twice since you left town but he was out both times. Please to give my respects to Papa and love to Eliza I hope I shall have a letter from you in the course of the week.

Believe me
ever

Dear Mother

Your dutiful Son

Stephen J^r

Worcester July 18th 1815

My dear Son,

I was disappointed that my present to you last week, of 2 p^r Nankin pantaloons, were not rec'd with gratitude—more especially as they were made of an article which was not new, & intended merely for the present season—I hope you will acknowledge to me that you have found them very comfortable—I wrote you last week by the Mail, you have ere now, I trust, recover'd your spirits, & entertain great hopes of obtaining a part at some future time. Send me an account of the examination. I send your Cloaths this week by Mr Rice, it is uncertain whether or not he returns thr'o Cam—, but you will have your things ready. Mr

Gates does not go this week. I have sent 4 of your New linnen shirts tell me when you have worn them, how you are pleas'd, how they fit you. Supposing, as the weather has been very warm, that you have worn your Gown, a good deal, and of course that it is dirty, I have made you another, which I now send, you will return the Green one with your Cloaths, & let me know how you like the new one. they are picking currants for you, I hope Mr Rice can take them

have you seen your grand-father lately? I fear he is not well, let me know how he was when you were last there. Dr Fiske went to Boston this mor'g, but he did not offer to take even a letter! write me as much as you can, particularly how you enjoy your health, & get on with your studies.

Your sincere frenid & mother

Elizabeth Salisbury.

I am affraid, Dear Mother, that you misunderstood what I said about my pantaloons; I am very much obliged to you for them but I thought I could do without them this season; and I was affraid that if they were made this season, they would be too small for next. * * * * *

I dont know as our Class will have any parts at all for there (is) something like a rebellion on foot now for the government gave us a lesson the day the Seniors left College and the Classes heretofore had no recitation. So the Classes all of them staid away from recitation. The government have fined them all 1 Dollar; and they intend to send away some to prevent the like conduct for future; and the students talk of going with those, who are sent away; I dont yet know how it will terminate; I shall try to keep out fo mischief.¹³

* * * *

Your dutiful Son

Stephen ———

July 20 1815

¹³ "If any Class, or a considerable part of a Class, shall by combination or agreement absent themselves from any stated exercise of a Professor or Tutor, it shall be in the power of the Professor or Tutor, whose exercise they neglect, to punish each one, so absenting himself, by a fine not exceeding one dollar. If the consideration of such offence be referred to the whole Immediate Government, and in their judgment a pecuniary mulct may be a sufficient punishment, it shall be their power to inflict a fine on each offender, not exceeding four dollars."—College Laws, 1807

Worcester 25th July 1815

My dear Stephen,

It was with much sorrow & Anxiety that I rec'd an account of the misconduct of the Students in College—most happy should I have been to know that you had distinguish'd yourself on the occasion, by obedience to Government, which has without doubt, a right to Institute new rules & regulations, whenever they judge it proper to do so — this you must acknowledge, & also that you have bound yourself to be guided & directed by them. why then my dear did you not obey the summons to recitation — were you not conscious that you ought so to do? & suppose you were the only one, tis magnanimous to dare to do right, & cowardly to follow a Multitude to do evil — I know not the particulars, you may have more to say in your own vindication than I am aware of — I hope so — I trust I shall hear from you fully on the subject — tell me my dear how *you* in particular conducted in the affair, & by what motives you were influenced — I am in hopes you will have a letter ready so as not to write in a hurry — * * * *

Your Affectionate Mother

Elizabeth Salisbury

Dear Mother

As I did not know what sort of a [letter] I should receive from you I could not of course prepare an answer, and indeed I did not expect that you would have heard so large an account of the disturbance as you did. All, that I can say for myself, is, that I did not go in to recite and I did not draw the carriage for them I was bathing and that Cousin J Salisbury came out to see me and he said he was glad I did not go in to recite and that I was away when the carriage was drawn; and he observed that I had better [not] oppose the students (for then I could gain nothing but hatred and conyempt) or the government but take as much as possible a neutral part. Two Brothers of the name of ——— went into recitation and hoped by that means to gain the favour of the College government and the world at the expence of the dislike and contempt of their companions, but those

who are acquainted with the circumstances see plainly that their object was to build up their character on fall others and their conduct is generally thought to have proceeded from other motives than a sense of duty * * * *

Your dutiful Son

July 27 1815⁶
Cambridge

Stephen ——— Jr

Cambridge July 27th 1815

Dear Father,

I believe you heard of the Rebellion from Mr. Brazer, and of course it was represented in the most unfavourable light; for Mr J Brazer was very much engaged during the whole proceeding. Although the proceedings of the students cannot be justified yet a great deal may be said in palliation and you would (I do not doubt) have a better opinion of us. I can give you a particular history of it when I go home on the week before Commencement; but it is impossible to give you a correct idea of it in writing. The Government of the College were very impolitic in the manner they took notice of it, for if they had waited until the next day, and then suspended a few, or fined us all, the Students would have been quiet; But there are some of the government, who think there is no way of restoring order, but by the most severe measures; And instead of taking those whose general character was bad, they pitched those whose character for morals was good, and as for scholarship they were among the best of their Classes. This was the reason for those irregularities which followed, and I hope it will be considered as something of an excuse. And those proceedings which are considered, (by those who are inclined to misrepresent, or whose absence prevented them from knowing the particulars,) as insults to the government, were intended merely, as testimonies of the sympathy of the whole body of the students, who were the unfortunate victims of that punishment which should justly have fallen upon us all. I have often heard since, that the President was averse to the method adopted by the Government. I went

up to him to get permission to stay in town Saturday night, and in course of conversation, he said, it was difficult to get along with three governments, and what else could he mean, than that the students were endeavouring to get the power in their own hands, and the government were divided. Mr Josiah Salisbury, with Mrs S — rode out to see me a day or two after the classes missed recitation; I told him the story, and how far I was concerned. he said it was well that I did not go into recitation, and he was glad I was not up at College when they drew the carriage, for it was much better not to be in the college yard. I happened to be bathing at tha time. The sons of ——— attended recitation, and said they did not care for the good opinion of the class, but that they would by this means gain the favour of government; but in this it is generally thought they will be mistaken. these two, together with a man named ———, and ——— son, were the only persons who went to recite. ——— was obliged to go in as he was dependent on one of the government for his board, and he would other wise be obliged to pay for it himself, which he could but ill afford to do. The persons who were rusticated on account of the rebellion, were not selected as principals. The names of those, who are sent away from our class, are Winthrop, our best scholar, Hastings the son of Lawyer H—— of Mendon, who was one of our best scholars, and Fogg who was also a good scholar. I have here endeavoured to give you a short account of it but there are many things which I cannot give in writing, which I will inform you of, when we next meet. I am very sorry that this rebellion ever happened; but I can find nothing in my conduct as an individual, to be sorry for. The President is become still more popular among the Students; He, (and he alone) appeared affected when the rustication bills were given. I shall obey you, Sir, in all things which you require, and endeavour by my behavior, to gain the esteem and good will, of my instructors and friends. The storm is now quite blown over, and all things are as quiet as ever, and indeed the opposition to government never was extended farther than the first day. You were mistaken, Sir, in supposing,

that this rebellion originated in a few turbulent men, the determination to miss the recitation was general, and I for my part, can not point out any man, or number of men, who can be called ring-leaders.

With respect, Sir,

Your dutiful Son

Stephen ——— J^r

Dear Father

Now is the time for our class to join the company and I should think it would be a good time for me to learn to train and if I did not belong to College I should soon be obliged to come out in the militia, the company is composed of our class and the senior and is permitted by the Government of the college. As all my companions belong to it and it is a very respectable company as it is better disciplined than the greater part and equal to the best companies in Boston. I should like very much to join it, Papa, if you would please to give me permission. If you are willing, Sir, that I may join, will you please to send me 4 dollars to buy me a breast plate gunstrap and cockade. They have no uniform but blue coats and white trowsers beside the above articles. Will you please Sir to give me an answer, immediately on the receipt of this as to my joining the company for they have begun to learn the manouvres, and I shall be behind hand if I do not begin soon. * * * *

With respect

Harvard University

August 7th 1815

Sir

Your dutiful Son

Stephen ——— J^r

My dear Mother

I recieved this morning your letter containing money and the other things which you were so kind as to send me. * * * *

We came out in uniform last friday and the Capt marched us to Medford and I was not much fatigued We returned our guns to the armory the other [day] and I

suppose that we shall not resume them until next spring. In the junior year the officer marks the best themes with different marks to designate the different degrees of their excellence. Yesterday my first junior theme was returned with a mark of approbation of the second order. There are only three kinds of mark. of the first kind there were five themes. Bancroft had a mark of the first kind. S J May had a mark of the same kind as mine. These marks are given only to the best

Ever truly

Capt Dana's

with Respect and affection

Cambridge

Your dutiful Son

Nov 2 1815

Stephen ——— J^r

Worcester 5th Nov^r 1815

Dear Stephen,

Your letters by Mr. Gates were rec'd. If indeed you were not greatly fatigued by your March I am very glad of it. A mark of approbation, tho' not of the first order, must I should think be encouraging – may it stimulate you my dear boy, and excite to greater diligence and application — 'twould be exceedingly pleasing that you should distinguish yourself. we approve of your attending the dancing School, only be very careful of coming out warm into the Air. it will not I trust break in upon more important exercises – you will probably want a pair of Dancing pumps, thick Shoes will not be proper to learn in, you can get a pair in Boston, but do not go in on purpose. once a week is quite often enough to go into Boston. shall write you again soon.

your Affectionate Mother

Elizabeth Salisbury.

Cambridge April 9th 1816

Dear Mother

I am sorry to plead guilty to your censure but I hope that the complete occupation of my time in College duties will be some excuse – today for instance I got up at six oclock went into prayers and immediately after into recita-

tion by which were detained till about 7 then we had till half after 7 to prepare for breakfast – at nine oclock I had to go into french and at half past ten into another recitation – we went into lecture at quarter past 11 oclock which continued till half past twelve which is commons time after which we had a recess till 2 oclock when there was another lecture which lasted till three oclock – to which followed another recitation at four oclock which closed the labours of the day. The reppetition of these exercises is no doubt tedious to you, Mama, but how much more so must the performance of them. But perhaps tedious is not a proper word I meant merely to say fatiguing. These would appear sufficient to occupy our time to any reasonable person But beside all these the government have seen fit that we should attend another course of lecture to begin next week. Wednesday is to be the most busy day of the week but there is not much difference between the exercises of this day and the three first days of the week. * * * * As to my studies Mama if my performance of my exercises equalled the labour that I bestow on them I think I should do very well. * * * *

Your dutiful Son

Stephen ——— J^r

Worcester April 16th 1816

Dear Stephen,

Your Mother is very glad you can give so good an account of this disposition of your time — a good Oeconomist my dear can find time for all duties. but is it not a new thing, your attending the Botanical lectures? If it will be of any advantage to you I am glad you do, I should like much to have you *acquire* a taste for Botany, as it would be a pleasurable as well as healthful exercise. Your father has no recollection of subscribing to the B[otanic] Garden. I am concern'd least you have no clean linnen to wear, send by the bearer all you have dirty. I send you some wick yarn, which was forgotten before. also a few Apples. do my dear be careful not to break your teeth in eating them. * * * * I have several times thought how you made out about your Pantaloons, your old Blues must be much worn

— if you can't do otherwise my son, wear your new Blue ones, do not go shabby with sincere & constant prayers that you may be virtuous & good, I am your Affectionate mother

Elizabeth Salisbury.

Cambridge June 20 1816

My Dear Mother

I do not wonder that you are surprised at silence but I hope that business will be a sufficient excuse. Beside the usual exercises I had an examination a forensic and a declamation. I appeared very well at examination — better than I expected. Mr Prescott was the chairman of the examining committee and [in] his address to us afterwards he said that the fame our class had extended beyond the walls of college but that nevertheless that our appearance had exceeded expectation. I think I appeared as well as any one; this is however no modesty. * * * * As I sometimes want something to eat in the evening and at other times I thought I would ask you if you would please to send me a piece of brown bread sometimes.!!

Your dutiful Son

Stephen —————J^r

My Dear Mother

I have just recieved your kind letter and the fruit you were so good to send me. * * * * It gave me great pleasure Mama to find by your letter that Papa was coming down with you as I feared much that he would not. It would greatly diminish the pleasure of having a part if my parents were not present to hear beside you know Mama I am not calculated to make a figure in the world so that I must make much of my Collegiate honours. I have carried my part to the professor who examines the compositions of our class and he said except a few verbal alterations he approved of it; I shall this morning read it to the President and I will write you what he says of it. I am very much obliged to you for your kindness in thinking of those things for me which I should not have recollected myself. I

thought I would mention to you that if you please I should like to wear silk stockings at exhibition. The Exhibition¹⁴ is a week from next tuesday I hope you will excuse the chirography of this letter as I am somewhat hurried at this time and I feel solicitous about the presidents opinion of my part. * * * * Your dutiful Son

Stephen S———— J^r

P S I have read my part to the President and he made no remarks upon it but told me (after his manner) "very well." I have read it to one of those who are associated with me and he thought it very good.

Done at Cambridge

with respect

Cabot Room this 11 Oct

Stephen Salisbury

1816

¹⁴ Public exhibitions were held on the third Tuesday in October; the last Tuesday in April; and the Tuesday in the week preceding Commencement.

ORDER OF PERFORMANCES FOR EXHIBITION

OCTOBER 22, 1816

1. A Latin Oration, "De Literis Rerumpublicarum," S. E. SEWALL.
2. A Conference, "On the comparative value of Promptness, Prudence and Perseverance, as qualities of the practical man."
S. SALISBURY, J. D. WELLS & H. PRENTISS.
3. A Greek Dialogue, "Mercury and Sosia." Translated from Plautus.
S. REED & S. BARRETT.
4. A Forensick Disputation on the question, "Whether a concealed be preferable to an open suffrage?" M. ROGERS & C. REED.
5. An English Dialogue, "Prince Henry and Falstaff," Selected from Shakespeare.
W. GODDARD & R. E. ELLIOTT.
6. A Colloquial Discussion, "On the influence of the multiplication of books upon the interests of Science and Literature." D. G. HATCH & S. J. MAY.
Musick.
7. A Latin Dialogue, "Mahomet and Mustapha." Translated from Johnson's Irene.
T. M'CULLOCH & J. EVERETT.
8. A Conference, "On the anxieties of Youth, Manhood and Old Age."
S. HART, E. A. LUMMUS & B. PERRY.
9. An English Dissertation, "On the value of the Metaphysical Researches of Locke."
A. CUMMINGS.
10. A Greek Dialogue, "Pierre and Jaffier." Translated from Otway's Venice preserved.
C. CHASE & J. FESSENDEN.
11. Mathematical and Astronomical exercises.
J. BLANCHARD, D. L. CHILD, C. CUSHING,
G. EMERSON, R. SCHUYLER & A. WOODS.
12. An English Oration, "The influence of Enthusiasm on happiness."
G. BANCROFT.

Cambridge March 14 1817

Honoured Father

Permit to request you to make my acknowledgements to my Dear Mother for the kind letter and clothes and the apples she was so good to send me. * * * *

Perhaps I did not express myself in a proper manner at any rate you mistook what I said in one of my last letters with respect to my want of money. I did not mean to trespass on your goodness for any more but only that which Mama refunded was very seasonable. That was a sufficiency for all known contingencies nor did I then wish or expect any more; I use the phrase known contingencies because as you will see by my letter by the mail that since that there has arisen a demand for money which could not then be foreseen and which has given me confidence to make a corresponding request in that letter which as well as a request for apples your generosity has anticipated and thus they are made null void and of no effect as the law expresses it. The contingency referred to as you will learn by that letter is the purchase of a black silk gown which the government have advised the students to adopt as their distinguishing badge; and it is to be worn only on public occasions. The money you were so good to send though before unnecessary is now needed and will be devoted to the above mentioned contingency. I thank you for your liberality and hope that I may regulate my expenditures by your will and endeavour to deserve the kindness of my friends * * * *

From

Sir Your dutiful Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

Cambridge June 26 1817

My dear Mother

I have just received your kind letter and the comforts you were so good to send me by Mr Gates Your other letter was sent from town in due season I was in town last saturday and found all my friends well but you have no doubt heard since. I dined with Uncle Gustavus on fryday

last when I went in town to an auction and went up stairs to see my Aunt. Cousin Francis is very pretty The handsomest infant I think I ever saw that is he looked very fair and had some shape to his face I suspect he will not be an exception to the long noses of the family. He will be called Francis - I asked Uncle G - something about his son John Now dont call him John His name is Francis You know that Uncle is sometimes a little Particular I yesterday found from his card that Uncle Edward had honoured me with a call. You advised me to get thin pantaloons and some silk ones for Commencement - I thought I would defer it till I wrote you. I have thin grey pantaloons you know which are quite handsome and this summer will be so cold that I shall not probably have need of any I have hardly felt a desire for them yet so that if you please I should rather not get any this season. I come now to my health it is on the whole better I think, I say on the whole, for at present I do not feel so well Night before last three or four Class-mates called to see me and I got some apples of which I ate three thinking that they would probably be good for my indigestion, but they proved too cold for my weak stomach I had the next morning a heavy oppression it seemed to be in the upper of my stomach As I had heard that Dr Warren said when he felt an oppression, he found immediate relieve from riding & as my stomach felt as though it wanted to be shaken down I procured a horse and rode about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. There is little danger from Cambridge horses that is the greater part - for those most commonly worn out by continual service I felt very well when I was riding but I found my dinner increased my oppression, at night I ate some rhubarb and some more this morning. I feel better today than yesterday. I have not consulted Dr Warren for it is evident that my indisposition proceeds from sedentary habits and weakness I have adopted a regimen which I think will cure it I shall study little, eat few vegetables, go to bed at ten, get up at six exercise regularly as you may suppose I rode clumsily at first when my legs get over their chafeing I think I shall try it again. Please to give my respect to my Father and tell him how grateful I am for

his generosity in respect to those books. Our examination is a week from next Tuesday and we leave a week after that With love to my Cousin I must conclude with respect and affection

Your Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

Worcester 30th June 1817

My dear Stephen,

I hope you soon got over the effects of your imprudence, or error in Judgment, which shall I call it, in eating hard, wilted, indigestible Apples, just before going to bed – it is a great deal better not to eat anything after tea, I know from experience. how is your health at present my Son? I am not sorry that you attempted a little ride on Horseback, but I entreat you to be careful to take an old worn out Horse, that can but just walk, I mean until you are a little accustom'd – I am not without hope that you will have a Horse, I think if you leave College with honor & credit, your Father will consider you – I feel very anxious to have you pass examination well, as I cannot but think it will have some influence on the part that will be given you – you will probably go into Boston to Celebrate Independence, and I hope I may depend on your discretion – do not my dear Child forfeit your reputation for that quality, by fatiguing yourself, or runing any hazards. I had some thought of sending you my watch, your Father did not object when I spoke of it some time ago, do you wish me to if I have a good opportunity. I send you two linnen Shirts this week that are pleated nicely, you had 6 linnen ones there before, I would have you wear on them now after you have finished the Cotton ones which you have there do you not want a handsome pair of thin Pantaloons for Commencement? I think you will if it is warm, had you not better ask Callender what will be handsome? if indeed we were sure it would be cool weather, well, perhaps it may be left 'till you go down to Commencement. I have not heard a word of my Father since he left us, a week ago last Saturday, except

your mentioning in general that our friends were all well. you were in town probably last Saturday, how did you find him? your Father is still busy, and does not find time to write you. he is pretty well. have your Sheets chang'd & send home all your cast cloaths. they say there were two odd Socks in the wash, be careful to wear mates my Son.

write me by Gates, and tell me how you do. and if the Port wine suits you.

Your Affectionate mother

Elizabeth Salisbury.

July 10 1817

My dear Mother

I had the pleasure yesterday after a tedious examination which I got through very well to find a letter from you and some clothes in my room I thank you for your good wishes with respect to examination and am happy to say that though I was not so fortunate as I have been sometimes I think that my appearance will be rather propitious to my part if I should have any than the contrary. Our friends in town when I last heard of them were uniformly well except Grandpapa who has lost his appetite in a great degree which when I saw him he seemed to lament as a misfortune rather than experience any evil from it. Uncle Joseph and Aunt Sarah were at my room on Monday the day the president visited Cambridge¹⁵ and they were both well; by the way the visit to the College must have been very pleasing for all the marks of attention which were shown him were dignified and manly and worthy of the character of gentlemen and scholars; the address of Dr K you will see in newspapers; the latin oration by Cushing of whom you have heard me speak was remarkable for its purity and classick elegance Whether I had better come home or not is a question which cannot now be decided it will depend on my having a part or not and the nature of the part whether it requires study or not. I shall therefore send nothing

¹⁵ President Monroe.

home at present. My health is much improved as I am not ill troubled with the dyspepsia.

I will take the liberty My dear Mother to repeat the request that I may be excused from getting thin pantaloons for I have really no need of them and I wear those which I have more because It is a pity to outgrow without wearing them than any other reason but if you think it expedient may I get kerseymere on the whole I think I should like a pair of that description. I shall make my calls in town on my friends next Saturday Please to excuse my writing more at present as I am already fatigued with long sitting. Please to give my love to Eliza and accept assurance

of the affection and respect of your Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

—————

July 1817

My Dear Mother

I have this morning received your letter and those clothes you were so kind to send me I was glad to find that you were quite well at home. Our Collegiate Course is at length finished and I am at present in the character of a resident undergraduate subject only to the general regulations of the college. Last Saturday the parts were declared when the Government saw fit to reward my merits with the second conference with which I am well satisfied. I thought it well to stay here to write my part and beside I wished to finish a course of reading which I had not before time to compleat. I think I shall stay till next week. Yesterday while I was riding on horseback in company with some classmates I met Uncle & Aunt Gustavus T — They looked in good health and smiled pleasantly but did not offer to stop. On monday I went with Grand papa down to Nahant; Uneles Joseph & Henry with my Aunts and some of the children were of the party we enjoyed the ride — spent our time pleasurably there in walking & fishing and at the end we found Grand papa much improved in his health by the jaunt for he has of late been much afflicted by the loss of appetite which was restored by the sea air.

We there met Mr S Walley and Lady & Mr E. Phillips Mr Walley went for the health of his daughter. From Mr Phillips I learnt that Uncle Salisbury had not returned from Sandwich. I am sorry to say any thing more about pantaloons but I must again ask your attention to the subject Our Class generally and those with whom I have a part in particular have it in contemplation to wear small clothes as it will be necessary or perhaps I should say expected (and indeed it would not look well to be singular) that I should wear them would it not be well to get those instead of pantaloons please to let me know by mail before I go home. You have heard I presume that Bancroft has the second English oration and Perry the first conference. As I shall want to use my room at Commencement I think it will not be advisable to send my books before then.

Please to give my respect to my Dear Father and with love to Cousin I must conclude with assurance of the affection & duty of your Son Stephen Salisbury Jr

Please to tell Papa that when I wrote my last letter I had seen the character of the President in the Papers nor should I have attempted to delineate it if I had thought that he could get it from another source—

Worcester July 1817

My dear Stephen,

Your letter by yesterdays mail is before me. I am sorry you were obliged to write in so great haste, and that my advice was so puzzling to you, you know that it is important that some provision be made for the Accomodation of our friends, and that probably the best rooms will be secur'd before we go down, and for that reason I thought it best that you should enquire & if possible engage such as would answer. but if you cannot effect anything, we must do as well as we can when we get there. as it seems uncertain when you return home, I have sent you a few cloaths, and a pr sheets and Counterpane, which I am sorry I did not send before as your bed-Quilt looks so Shabby. you will send the Quilt, & as many other things as you please.

I will send both Kits. now Answer a few questions, are you writing your part, what is the subject, are you pleas'd with it, and do you think you shall make out well? I am sorry my dear that you do not feel quite well. hope you lie on your matrass, and use ev'ry precaution, such as avoiding damp, and ev'g air &c. but I feel most concern'd about your riding on Horse back, take care not to have a stumbling horse, & ride very slowly.

I do not think you have been very communicative on the Subject of Commencement, & yet you must I think feel much interested. I should like to know how the parts are distributed, and who will make entertainments. write by return of bearer, perhaps you will then be able to say when you can return home. I am very happy to hear that my father is better for his ride to Nahant. give my respects when you see him, as you probably will before you return. Ask him, as from yourself, if he shall be willing to take us all at Commencement time. as to providing a dinner for Comm perhaps it will do to see about that when we go down.

your Affectionate mother,

E Salisbury.

Thursday July 1817

My Dear Mother

I suppose that you have seen my letter by Broth Perry before this and I hope shall receive an answer to it before this reaches you if you have not yet written I hope you will immed on the receipt of this as it is important that I should know how large a party you think proper to have I think there will be no difficulty in getting college rooms though it will be in vain to attempt to get two in the best building. I have not heard of any very large entertainment like that of Eliot 2 or 3 years ago though I understand there will be many small ones The Class in general seems well satisfied with the distribution of the parts. Winthrop has the first part Bancroft 2ⁿ Cushing 3^d Emerson 4th Bulfinch the Poem. To me is allotted the second conference in company with Emerson 2nd Green 2nd Hart The subject is the effects of

the Peace on the Agriculturist, the mechanick the merchant and the professional man. the last of which it is my business to investigate I propose to treat it in a manner partly historical and partly argumentative giving a view of the history of the country and the principal events of it as they affect the professions and at last show in what way our present situation is peculiarly favourable to an increase of their excellence the subject is a good one but I fear I shall not please my self I have had some books to finish before I wrote my part so that I have hardly thought of it yet. I think I shall remain a fortnight longer You recollect that before I had my part with Prentiss and Wells Now Prentiss has the 4th Conference & Wells the 3^d If you have not answered my last letter, before this you would greatly oblige me by writing a line Please to make my respects to my¹⁶ Dear Father

and believe me ever

Your dutiful Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

¹⁶COMMENCEMENT

1. A Salutatory Oration in Latin, by *Caleb Cushing*.
2. A Conference, "On the pleasures of the antiquarian, the traveller, the literary recluse, and the man of business" - By *Daniel Heyward Brailsford*, *Samuel Brimblecom*, *Horatio Newhall* and *Henry Prentiss*.
3. An Oration in Hebrew. "The effect of miracles on the character of the Jews" - By *James Diman Green*.
4. A Forensick Disputation. "Whether personal interest in a subject of investigation be favourable to the discovery of truth." By *Micajah Rogers* and *Caleb Reed*.
5. An Oration in French. "The characteristics of Massillon as a pulpit orator." By *Edwin Fay*.
6. An Essay. "On the progress of the exact sciences in France and England." By *Appollos Drayton Bates*.
7. A Conference. "On the beneficial effects of mechanicks, chemistry, astronomy and agriculture." By *Penuel Corbett*, *John Doane Welles*, *Jonathan Holmes Cobb* and *Thomas Thompson*.
8. An Oration in Greek. "On the progress of literature" - By *Thomas Carter*.
9. A Colloquial Discussion, "On the good and bad effects of emulation" - By *Benjamin Fessenden* and *Robert Schuyler*.
10. A Dialogue in Latin verse, "Athens and Rome" - By *Thomas Russell Sullivan* and *Joseph Coolidge*.
11. A Conference, "On the influence of the peace upon the condition of the agriculturist, the manufacturer, the merchant, and the professional man" - By *Moses Kelly Emerson*, *John Orne Green*, *Samuel Hart*, and *Stephen Salisbury*.
12. A Dissertation, "On the causes which independently of their merit, have contributed to elevate the ancient classics" - By *George Emerson*.

Wednesday even 10 oclock

My Dear Mother

I received a letter from you this noon respecting commencement and another this evening and now snatch up my pen to satisfy any anxiety you may have by informing you that all things are in good train and will probably go on smoothly soon as I received your letter I rode into town and went to Uncle Salisbury who refered me to cousin Josiah with whom I arranged the whole matter not only what to have for dinner but how the viands should be disposed I have provided that if it should rain the tables are to be set in Herseys house The invitations are to be sent as soon as prepared the form is determined Cousin Josiah spoke of dating them from Cambridge would not that seem more natural as I shall request an immediate answer It is customary untill the number of the company is ascertained no particular arrangements are to be made Cousin Josiah said it would be as well to pass the compliments to Mr & Mrs May and Several had I better say young ladies I wish to ask your opinion of his Honor W Phillips and lady and Miss P Mr & Mrs Walley Mr T Bigelow & lady and Miss B Mr & Mrs and Miss Thomass and Mrs & Miss Stanton

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13. A Colloquial Discussion, "On the moral influence of the Christian Sabbath." – by *Samuel Atkins Elliot and Samuel Joseph May*.
 14. A Literary Discussion, "On the alleged improvement in the art of composition since the age of Queen Anne," – By *Samuel Edward Sewall and Charles Henry Warren*.
 15. An Oration in Latin, "On the Roman Character and Institutions," – By *Joseph Huntington Jones*.
 16. A Conference, "On the views of life, taken by Democritus, Heraclitus, Diogenes, and Zeno" – By *Edward Augustus Lummus, Jacob Chapin, Baxter Perry and Francis Jenks*.
 17. A Poem in English, "Nature – the source of poetic inspiration." – By *George Storer Bulfinch*.
 18. A Dialogue, "On the uses and abuses of the press" – By *William Seden Hastings and Paul Willard*.
 19. A Forensic Disputation, "Whether the power of eloquence be diminished by the progress of literature and science" – By *David Lee Child and Alva Woods*.
 20. An Oration in English, "On the dignity and utility of the philosophy of the human mind" – By *George Bancroft*.
 21. A Deliberative Discussion, "On the expediency of a national university" – By *Ira Henry Thomas Blanchard and Asa Cummings*.
 22. Compositions in English, – By *Frederick Hobbs, John Phillips Spooner and Robert Folger Walcutt*.
 23. An Oration in English, "The aspect of revolutions on the advancement of the mind" – By *Francis William Winthrop*.

and had not I better include Miss Gardner at Madame Scots
If you think of any other Please to name them as well as
give your opinion of those mentioned above I intend to take
horse for Chelsea when my part is done which I expect will
be soon perhaps to-night there is not the least need of your
coming down at present as every thing is fixed Mrs Salis-
bury senior is indisposed but the rest of the family are well
as is he who subscribes himself in haste

But with affection and respect

I fear I

Your dutiful son Stephen Salisbury Jr

shall loose

the Mail shall come up next week.

Thursday Noon

My Dear Mother

this morning I received the clothes you were so good
to send me the foregoing part of this letter was written
(to be sent last night by the mail) as soon as I had read your
letter to relieve your anxiety and alter any intentions you
might have of coming to Boston it would be to no purpose
as every thing is in preparation except my part which pro-
gresses slowly I find it very difficult to say anything to the
purpose in the short space of 3 minutes I have written a
good deal which I have to cut down some of it very good
I assure you, it seems some times very hard to leave a
brilliant figure for no other fault than being joined to a long
sentence I have been writing some of it this morning with
more success than common I shall ride this afternoon
Please to write your opinion of those persons I have men-
tioned and any others you may think of as soon as you
receive this I have secured the bargain and only wait to
know for how many to order preparations when my part
is done I shall ride to Chelsea I did think of going to day
but it is thursday Aunt Salisbury has been threatened
with a fever but is thought out of danger Little Henry
Bruse is ill with the billious fever I think it is that is not
thought he can recover I must conclude

Your dutiful son Stephen Salisbury Jr.

July 13.

My Dear Mother

I will confess that I should not have written by the hands of my Father but that I have a request to make; since from him you can learn all that a letter would communicate more in detail and therefore more to your satisfaction. My request is that (if it is quite convenient) you would procure me something like gingham for a frock coat. You can best judge what is most proper; I thought I should not prefer a plaid. I can have it made here. Eliza tells me you thought of getting me a light hat but concluded deferring it until I went down; as that is not probable at present will you please to procure it and have it sent with the Cloth to W & G Tuckerman, where I shall direct a teamster to call for it wednesday morn. The Coat is of less immediate importance than the hat as I have my old green gown. I should not have troubled you at this time my Dear Mother were it not that I shall probably need these things more just now than any time through the season if it be necessary to line the hat it can be done here. The hat I now wear is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inch from the back of the head to the fore part and $6\frac{4}{10}$ inch across the head. I prefer the wide brim. We are very sorry to learn as we do incidentally from your letter that the burden of nursing Grandpapa devolves on you it will certainly be too much for your health. It is strange it should be so as it can so easily be altered as the exertion of a little persuasion would prevail on Grandpapa to consent to an alteration. I hope this will be effected that you rest yourself from the fatigues of unremitted attention and anxiety. My Father will inform you how all things are here but it is too near dinner for any thing further from your son except the reiterated assurance

of respect & affection

Ste Salisbury Jr

My Dear Father

Monday (Aug 1817)

I have made many trials to obtain rooms for a dinner at Commencement. I have not been successful in finding

even two rooms in College suitably situated and we should want at least four to proceed comfortably. Our family is so large that they with a few persons out of it whom you would think proper to invite would a company of an hundred which is as large a number as you could possibly provide seats for in 2 large College rooms and beside these a drawing room would be necessary for the company to assemble in before, and the ladies to retire to after dinner and another room would be wanted to carry the plates &c when the table is cleared.

Thus you see that four rooms are indispensable but I find I cannot procure four that are convenient. beside in this plan the party would be divided as well as very much crowded I thought therefore before I proceeded further I would mention another project for your consideration which though it is liable to objections is on some accounts preferable. I went to see Mr Hersey to see if he had an hall and he told me that though he had no single hall he would let me have rooms in his house to receive my company and set a table on a green field near the house under a tent and that he would provide such a dinner as I should require for nine shillings a head but I must procure the liquors. Now this plan is preferable to the other as we shall have no care but to give the orders and there will be no trouble about returning the articles I should use as there would if I procured a room and a provider. And there is yet another advantage the company would sit at one table there would not be that division which would be unavoidable in 2 college rooms. To be sure the expence is great but not so great as the expence of having a dinner provided at rooms that I furnish according to the price of Mr Morse who charges as little and commonly less than any body else He says \$2 a head; beside his dinner would probably be inferior to the other The only objection is that it will appear more showy but at the same time it will be vastly more comfortable beside it will save me a great deal of trouble commencement day which will be an object as I shall have enough to fatigue me beside the place where the table will be set is apart from the street and quite out of publick view Such on the whole

are the advantages of Mr Herseys plan and since I cannot get suitable rooms for the other that I think you will prefer to adopt the former Please to send me your answer and the persons you wish to invite and the form of invitation as it is quite time the cards should be given out. If you will please to send me a list I will send the invitations. I have almost done my part and have little more than abbreviate it. Please to write me by the next mail (it is important I should secure that place) if you approve that plan and I see not what else I can do Please my Dear Father to present my respects to my Mother and conclude myself

Your dutiful Son

Stephen Salisbury Jr

Unfortunately the letters do not include the Commencement Day, itself, but we have the invitation, the list of guests invited and many of the replies. The invitation, unlike those of today, read:—

***Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Salisbury request the honor of
company at Dinner, at the Rooms of their Son, at
Mr. Hearsey's, in Cambridge, on Commencement
Day.***

* * The favor of an early answer is requested to be left at Mr. Salisbury's in Summer-street, Boston

Worcester, August 1, 1817.

From the replies these have been selected.

With their respectfull acknowledgments to M^r. & M^{rs}. Salisbury, M^r. & M^{rs}. [Levi] Lincoln regret that indispensable avocations must deprive them of the satisfaction of participating personally with M^r. Salisbury & his friends, the pleasures of a commencement which will place on the theatre of the world their promising son

Tues^d, Aug 5th, '17

Mr & Mrs Lincoln Jun^r. present their most respectful acknowledgments to Mr & Mrs Salisbury for their kind, and very gratifying invitation to their Sons Commencement. Mrs Lincoln will be prevented from attending by her domestic engagements. Mr Lincoln with great pleasure, will participate with his Friends, in the enjoyments of the occasion.

Monday Morning

August 4 1817

Mr. J[oseph] Allen respectfully acknowledges the honour done him by Mr. Salisbury & Lady, in their invitation to dine at their Son's rooms on Commencement day. But as Mr Allen is one of the board of overseers of the University he must deny himself that pleasure; but will take an opportunity after dinner to take a glass of wine at their Son's rooms.

M^{rs} Allen has been for some time & still is absent from home. She will not be able to attend Commencement, but will duly appreciate the polite invitation.

Aug^t. 2^d.

The annexed agreement and bills for the dinner have also been preserved.

AGREEMENT WITH JONATHAN HEARSEY
FOR AN ENTERTAINMENT AT CAMBRIDGE ON
COMMENCEMENT DAY

Aug. 27, 1817.

Mr Hearsey agrees to provide dinner for 100 persons at \$1.50,—that is the course of meats & that of puddings tarts &c,—to be abundant in quantity & to consist of all the variety, that can be obtained, of choicest dishes.—Every thing to be of the very best quality of its kind.

Mr. Hearsey will provide likewise the cakes of all sorts & all other confectionary & all other articles of whatever description that are needed to make an elegant & tasteful & good dinner in all respects. He will also provide fruit of every variety & in abundance. He will provide especially Oranges & Ice Creams. For all of which he is to be paid

whatever they may cost, he taking all due pains to get them at the lowest prices for the best articles of each kind—& engages to procure the very best articles and no others.

He will provide a tent, convenient & commodious for dinner party, for which he is to be paid in addition.

He will provide Waiters, Cooks, Glass & China Ware of all sorts & in abundance for a genteel dinner & all furniture of every sort & kind at his own cost & expence & risk without any addition to the above charge of \$1.50 each

Mr Salisbury to provide his own liquors, except Bottled Cider which is to be provided by Mr. Hearsey as a part of the two first courses. Mr. Hearsey is to take charge of the liquors & to return whatever may remain after the entertainment is finished.

Mr. Salisbury's company is to have the use exclusively of at least four rooms in Mr. Hearsey's house for drawing rooms.

Mr. Hearsey engages that there shall be nothing wanting to make the dinner elegant & acceptable in all respects, whether expressed or not in this paper.

Expences to Boston

From Aug^t 24 to Sept 11, 1817.

paid at Framingham Eaton Bill of fare	5.49	
paid Hack Hire to Cambridge from Boston Store	9.—	
		14.79
paid Dennies Bill for Liquors	79.00	
paid Copenhagen Bill of Cake &c.	97.00	
paid Stephen 4 th Quarter Bill	63.25	
p ^d Codocil to the 4 Q ^{trly} Bill to Aug ^t 27	34.62	
p ^d Professor Farrer for Room Rent & to y ^e 29 Aug ^t	49.47	
p ^d Mary Bell for board to 28 Aug ^t	12.21	
paid Hearsey Bill for Entertainment	228.47	564.02
paid 5 Tolls 50 C ^{ts}	2.50	
paid Expences to Nahant	6.00	

paid for a Box & packing	1.50	
paid Russell & Cutler Card Bill	5.00	
paid White for Medicine	.67	15.67
dld Cash \$60. d° d° at Boston \$100	160.—	
Sept 13 Cash dld d° \$7.00	7.—	167.00
paid I. Parker Bill of Fare for Dinner & horses	2.44	
paid John Cleveland for Wrapper & Rope	5.00	
paid for 4 Matts	1.00	
paid at Eaton Bill of fare	7.90	
paid the Tolls up & down & Horses	2.50	18.84
	\$765.53	
brot down	14.49	780.02

Mr Stephen Salisbury to Jonathan Hearsey D^r.

1817	}	To 100 Dinners - - - - -	\$150.
Aug 27		" 20 Doz. Lemmons - - - - -	10.
		" 10 lb Almonds - - - - -	5.
		" 1 Box raisins . - - - -	4.75
		" 100 Cigars . . - - -	2.
		" 12 lb Figs - - - - -	3.
		" Pears & Apples - - - - -	2.25
		" Plumbs & currants - - - - -	1.25
		" 10 Mellons - - - - -	5.
		" 3 Doz. Oranges - - - - -	3.38
		" 2 lb S. Candles - - - - -	1.
		" 1 Loaf Sugar - - - - -	2.50
		" two kinds cake - - - - -	5.00
		" hire of 8 fruit baskets of M Farnam -	4.
		" D° green baze - - - - -	4.38
		" Man waggon bringing up Liquors -	1.50
		" keeping 5 Horses - - - - -	2.50
		" D° 2 Horses - - - - -	1.
			\$208.51

To Lumber for the Tent	- - - - -	23.54
" Labour & nails	- - - - -	14.90
" to hire of 4 Sails	- - - - -	4.
" Man horse & waggon twice to Boston to fetch & carry the sails	- -	4.50
		255.45
to ice	- - - - -	1.
		\$256.45
Deduct amt of Bill of Tent &c returned	- - -	27.98
		\$228.47

Recd Pay in full Sep 2, 1817
Jonathan Hearsey

August 27 - 1817

Mr S Salisbury

to A W Coppenhagn

5 pink Cakes 6 lb each 3/6	17.50
ornementing do do 3.50	17.50
5 plumb Cakes 10 lb each 3/	25.00
ornementing do do 4 Dol	20.00
4 1 Quart Molds of ice cream	8.00
3 do do in Glasses	6.00
Expencc of Caning do	3.00
	\$97.00

Recd paym

A W Coppenhagen

Messrs S. & S. Salisbury	}	Boston Augt, 25 1817
Bot of Thomas Dennie & Son		
3 Doz Madeira Wine - @12/		36.00
3 Doz. Porter - - - @4/	- - -	12.00
2 Doz. Claret Wine - - 8/	- - -	16.00
½ Doz Port do - - -	- - -	4.00

2 Galls Brandy	-	-	-	18/	-	-	-	6.00	
2 Galls Jamaica Spirit	-	10/6	-	-	-	-	-	3.50	
2 Bbls @1/6	2 Jugs @3/			-	-	-	-	1.50	\$79.00

Recd payment in full

Thomas Dennie & Son

Stephen Salisbury to the PRESIDENT & FELLOWS of
Harvard College, Dr.

To a Codocil to his fourth Quarter Bill, ending June 26, 1817.

Commons	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$16.20
Sizings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.30
Medical Instruction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.
Natural History	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Books	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Repairs and Sand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Assessments for delinquency in payment of												
Quarter Bills	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Theses and Orders	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.12
Fines	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Degree and Diploma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.00

34.62

August 27, 1817 Rec^d payment

Caleb Gannett Coll Steward

THE JUMANO INDIANS.

BY FREDERICK WEBB HODGE.

In studying the history and the effect of the contact of the Southwestern Indians with civilization, the writer was baffled by what appeared to be the sudden and almost complete disappearance of a populous tribe which played a rather prominent part in the history of the early exploration and colonization of the Southwest, which occupied villages of a more or less permanent character, and among whom missionaries labored in fruitless endeavor to show them the way to Christianity. It is not usually difficult to account for the decimation or even for the extinction of a tribe ravaged by war or by epidemics, of which there are numerous instances; but of the Jumano Indians, of whom this paper treats, there is no evidence that they were especially warlike in character, that they had a greater number of enemies than the average tribe, or that they had suffered unusually the inroads of disease.

The Jumano were first visited by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions of the ill-fated Narvaez expedition, while making their marvelous journey across Texas and Chihuahua in 1535. The name of the tribe is not given by them: they are called merely the "Cow Nation"; but the relation of an expedition nearly half a century later makes it evident that no other people could have been meant. The narration of Cabeza de Vaca is so indefinite that from it alone it would be difficult even to locate the place where the Jumano were found; but the testimony, meager though it be, tends to indicate that in 1535, as in 1582, they lived on the Rio Grande about the junction of the Rio Conchos and northward in the present state of Chihuahua, Mexico.

The first Jumano seen by Cabeza de Vaca was a woman, a captive among an unknown tribe, members of which were guiding the forlorn Spaniards across the desolate and broken country toward the west in southwestern Texas. Reaching the Rio Grande, Castillo and the negro Estevanico, who had journeyed ahead, came to a town at which the captive woman's father lived, "and these habitations were the first seen, having the appearance and structure of houses." The inhabitants subsisted on beans and squashes, and the Spaniards also had seen maize. Besides food, the natives gave the white men buffalo-robcs—seemingly the first of their sort mentioned in history. The Indians came in numbers and took the Spaniards "to the settled habitations of others, who lived upon the same food." It may, I think, be assumed that these other habitations were those of other Jumano, although Cabeza de Vaca mentions that from the second settlement of houses onward was another usage. "Those who knew of our approach," he says, "did not come out to receive us on the road as the others had done, but we found them in their houses, and they had made others for our reception. They were all seated with their faces turned to the wall, their heads down, the hair brought before their eyes, and their property placed in a heap in the middle of the house. From this place they began to give us many blankets of skin; and they had nothing they did not bestow. They have the finest persons of any people we saw," he continues, "of the greatest activity and strength, who best understood us and intelligently answered our inquiries. We called them the Cow Nation, because most of the cattle [buffalo] killed are slaughtered in their neighborhood,¹ and along up that river for more than fifty leagues they destroy great numbers."

The narrator continues: "They go entirely naked after the manner of the first we saw."² The women are dressed with deer-skin, and some few men, mostly the aged, who are

¹ The neighborhood here referred to was not the immediate vicinity, and the stream alluded to was much more likely to have been the Pecos than the Rio Grande, up which they were now journeying, the former river having been named "Rio de las Vacas" by Espejo in 1583.

² The rude Indians of the eastern coast of Texas.

incapable of fighting. The country is very populous. We asked how it was they did not plant maize. They answered it was that they might not lose what they should put in the ground; that the rains had failed for two years in succession, and the seasons were so dry the seed had everywhere been taken by the moles, and they could not venture to plant again until after water had fallen copiously. They begged us to tell the sky to rain, and to pray for it, and we said we would do so."

Seeking information regarding their route westward, the Spaniards were told that "the path was along up by that river [the Rio Grande] towards the north, for otherwise in a journey of seventeen days we could find nothing to eat, except a fruit they call *chacan*, that is ground between stones, and even then it could with difficulty be eaten for its dryness and pungency,—which was true. They showed it to us there, and we could not eat it. They informed us also that, whilst we traveled by the river upward, we should all the way pass through a people that were their enemies, who spoke their tongue, and, though they had nothing to give us to eat, they would receive us with the best good will, and present us with mantles of cotton, hides, and other articles of their wealth . . . Their method of cooking is so new that for its strangeness I desire to speak of it; thus it may be seen and remarked how curious and diversified are the contrivances and ingenuity of the human family. Not having discovered the use of pipkins, to boil what they would eat, they fill the half of a large calabash with water, and throw on the fire many stones of such as are most convenient and readily take the heat. When hot, they are taken up with tongs of sticks and dropped into the calabash until the water in it boils from the fervor of the stones. Then whatever is to be cooked is put in, and until it is done they continue taking out cooled stones and throwing in hot ones. Thus they boil their food."

We dwell thus at length on Cabeza de Vaca's account, as it is the first reference to the Jumano in history, and because it affords the earliest information as to what manner of people they were. There are few Indian tribes, whose

history forms part of that of our own land, that have a record traceable to the first half of the sixteenth century.³

The next Spaniards to pass through the Jumano country were Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado and his party in company with three missionaries, in 1581; but no new light is thrown on the tribe in question, and indeed there is no definite evidence in the account of two of the soldiers⁴ who were members of the little party that they were seen at all, although the Rio Grande was followed northward from its junction with the Conchos.

Much more definite information, however, is afforded by the next Spaniards to traverse their territory, led by Antonio de Espejo, who, in November, 1582, set out from San Bartolomé, in Chihuahua, and followed the bank of the Rio Grande northward from the mouth of the Conchos. From about the junction onward for twelve days' journey Espejo was among these people, who, he says, occupied five villages with an aggregate population of ten thousand—perhaps four-fold the actual number, as Espejo's estimates are always greatly exaggerated. The Jumano did not at first receive the strangers with the same friendliness as was shown Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, although it might be said that the latter met with a reception, owing to the magic power that they were supposed to possess and the awe inspired by it, such as perhaps has never been experienced by white men since their time. Espejo gives a rather definite account of the Indians under discussion, who, it will be observed, occupied the valley of the Rio Grande from the Conchos northward almost to the boundary of the present New Mexico. He says they were called Jumanos, and by the Spaniards Patarabueyes. Some of their houses were terraced, while others were of straw. The faces of the Indians were striated, evidently meaning

³See *Relation of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca*, translated by Buckingham Smith, New York, 1871; *The Journey of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca*, translated by Fanny Bandelier, New York, 1905; *The Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca*, edited by F. W. Hodge, in *Original Narratives of Early American History*, New York, 1907.

⁴See the *Relacion* of Barrundo and Escalante, and other documents bearing on the journey, in *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos del Archivo de Indias*, xv, pp. 80-150, Madrid, 1871.

tattooed, as the sequel will show. They cultivated maize, calabashes, and beans; hunted animals and birds, and especially the buffalo, and caught fish of many kinds in the two streams that united within their territory. They had lakes within their domain, from which they obtained salt during certain seasons as good as that from the sea. Of special importance in the identification of the people met by Cabeza de Vaca, Espejo states that three Christians and a negro had passed through the Jumano country years before, in whom he naturally recognized "Alvaro Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, y Dorantes, y Castillo Maldonado, y un negro," who, as is well known, finally reached Culiacan and the City of Mexico after trials and suffering almost beyond belief.⁵

Juan de Oñate, colonizer of New Mexico and founder of Santa Fé, passed over Espejo's route for a part of his journey through Chihuahua to the new province, but instead of traversing the Conchos to its junction with the Rio Grande, he made a more northerly course to the crossing of the latter stream at the present El Paso, consequently leaving the country of the Jumano on his right.

Whether the Jumano had entirely shifted their habitat between 1582 and 1598 is not definitely known, but it seems probable that they had not. Espejo had returned to Mexico by way of the Rio Pecos, leaving it for the Conchos some 120 leagues below Pecos pueblo, hence missing the Jumano territory of eastern New Mexico which later became known. And, as we have seen, Oñate did not follow a course in the journey northward with his colonists that would have enabled him to see the Jumano of the Conchos-Rio Grande junction.

But we have definite knowledge that the Jumano lived in the present New Mexico at least as early as the time of Oñate, i. e. in 1598, for on October 6 of that year he departed with the father commissary "to the salinas of the Pecos, which are of many leagues of indefinite salt, very beautiful and white; and to the pueblos of the Xumases or

⁵For the Espejo expedition, see *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias*, xv, 101 et seq., 1871.

Rayados, which are three: one very large, and they saw the others."⁶

There were in reality four instead of three important villages of the Jumano in New Mexico at the close of the sixteenth century, their names, according to Oñate, being Atripuy, Genobey, Quelotetrey, and Pataotrey.⁷ These, with many villages of the Pueblo Indians from Pecos southward through the country known as the Salinas, were placed under the ministration of Fray Francisco de San Miguel; but there is no evidence that the friar visited all of them, and it is quite certain that no churches were built in this immediate region at so early a date.⁸

The *Salinas* referred to are situated in the central portion of that part of Valencia county, New Mexico, lying east of the Rio Grande. Bounding the salt lagoon area on the south is the Mesa de los Jumanos, or, as it is termed on present-day if not altogether "modern" maps, "Mesa Jumanes." This land-mark of course derived its name from the tribe which formerly occupied the vicinity, a fact illustrating the persistency with which aboriginal names are sometimes retained in the Southwest, even where good excuse may exist for forgetting them.

The Salinas country, although known far and wide for its generally inhospitable and forbidding character, was inhabited at the opening of the seventeenth century and for

⁶ Discurso de las Jornadas, *Documentos Ineditos del Archivo de Indias*, xvi, 266-267, Madrid, 1871.

⁷ Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 167, 1890) suggests that the pueblos of Cuelóce Xenopué, and Patasce, mentioned in the Obediencia y Vasallaje a Su Magestad por los Indios del Pueblo del Cuéloce (*Doc. Ined. de Indias*, xvi, 123-124) are identifiable with Quelotetrey, Genobey, and Pataotrey, respectively. Indeed, it seems practically certain that such is the case. The Obediencia says: "... el Pueblo de Cuelóce que llaman de los rayados. . . . Yolhá, Capitan que dicen sér del Pueblo y gente deste Pueblo de Cuelóce; Pocastaquí, Capitan del Pueblo de Xenopué; Haye, Capitan del Pueblo de Patasce y Chilí [pueblo de Chililí by error?], Capitan del Pueblo de Abo." These names are transcribed in the hope that eventually they may prove of some linguistic service.

⁸ "Al Padre Fray Francisco de Sant Miguel, la provincia de los Pecos con los siete Pueblos de la Ciénega que le cae al Oriente, y todas los baqueros de aquella cordillera y comarca hasta la Sierra Nevada, y los Pueblos de la Gran Salina, . . . i así mismo los tres Pueblos grandes de Xumanas ó rrayados, llamados en su lengua, *atripuy*, *genobey*, *quelotetrey*, *pataotrey* con sus subgetos."—Obediencia y vasallaje a Su Magestad por los Indios del Pueblo de San Juan Baptista, *Doc. Ined. de Indias*, op. cit., xvi, 113-114.

twenty-five years later, by the eastern divisions of the Tigua and Piro (the latter sometimes being known as Tompiro), as well as by the Jumano. The former two groups belong to the Tanoan linguistic family and inhabited several pueblos similar to those of their Rio Grande congeners. When, in 1626, Fray Alonso Benavides, the Father Custodian of the missions of New Mexico, appealed for additional missionaries, he had particularly in mind the conversion of the tribes of the Salinas region, especially the Jumano, among whom Fray Juan de Salas had already been. Says Benavides, writing in 1630, "I kept putting off the Xumanas who were asking for him [Salas], until God should send more laborers."

Through their affection for Salas, the founder of the mission of Isleta, the Jumano went year after year for some six years prior to 1629 to visit him at that Rio Grande mission station in the hope, they asserted, that he might come to live among them. Finally, on July 22, 1629,⁹ a delegation of some fifty Jumano visited the pueblo of San Antonio de Isleta, where the custodian (probably Estevan de Perea) was then staying, for the purpose of again asking for friars; and "being questioned as to what induced them to make this demand, they said that a woman wearing the habit had urged them to come; and being shown a picture of Mother Luisa de Carrion, they rejoiced, and speaking to each other said that the lady who had sent them resembled the picture, except that she was younger and more beautiful." Fray Juan de Salas and Fray Diego Lopez volunteered to go, accompanied by an escort of three soldiers. They found the Jumano this time more than 112 leagues (about 300 miles) to the eastward from Santa Fé, or possibly in the western part of the present Kansas in the vicinity of what later became known as El Cuartelejo. The cause of this shifting may have been due to the hostility among the tribes of the Salinas about this time, of which Benavides speaks, for subsequent history seems to indicate that the Jumano were never an aggressive people. Not to enter into detail regarding the miracles which Salas and his companion are

⁹ Benavides, *Memorial*, 1630, in *Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, California, vol. xiv, p. 46, 1901. Vetancurt, *Cronica*, pp. 302-305, Mexico, reprint 1871.

said to have performed among the Jumano on the plains, some 30 or 40 leagues west of the "Quiviras" (who are identified with the Wichita tribe of Kansas), it may be said that the missionaries found 2,000 of these Indians, who, with many others from neighboring tribes (Benavides says there were 10,000 in all), clamored loudly for baptism, while two hundred lame, blind, and halt rose up well "when the sign of the cross was made and the words of the Gospel pronounced over them." Indeed, they were inspired "with so great devotion to the cross that they fell on their knees before every cross and adored it, and in their houses,¹⁰ over their doors, they put crosses."

After remaining some days, the fathers departed for the valley of the Rio Grande; and it would seem that the Jumano soon followed, for, according to Vetancurt, "owing to the continual invasions, and wars with their enemies the Apaches, this conversion could not lead to a permanent result in that place, and hence they removed to the Christians near Quarac," whence they were ministered.

There has been much discussion regarding the location of the "pueblo" occupied by the Jumano that was dedicated to "the glorious Isidoro." We may assume that it was not until after the visit of Salas to the Jumano on the plains in July-August, 1629, that this mission was founded, since the new friars did not arrive from Mexico until Easter of that year, and prior to that time no permanent missionaries were available even had the Jumano not been three hundred miles away on the prairies. We learn from the *Relacion* of Fray Estevan Perca,¹¹ the successor of Benavides as custodian of the missions of New Mexico, and under whose guidance the new missionaries came in the spring of 1629, that there were sent to the pueblos of the Salinas—"in the great pueblo of the Xumanas, and in those called Pyros and Tompiras"—six priests and two lay religious, one of whom, Francisco de Letrado, is known to have been assigned to the Jumano alone. It does not seem necessary to look for

¹⁰ According to Vetancurt, *op. cit.*, Benavides says: "They each one placed it [a cross] on the front of his tent," indicating that they were living in temporary abodes while hunting the buffalo on the plains.

¹¹ Translated in the *Land of Sunshine*, xv, nos. 5 and 6, Nov. and Dec., 1901.

the "great pueblo of the Xumanos" of which Benavides speaks, among the ruins of eastern New Mexico, from amongst the débris of which the massive walls of former Spanish churches and monasteries still rise, for it is scarcely likely that the Jumano occupied a village other than their own, or that the settlement was anything but an aggregation of dwellings of the more or less temporary kind which they were found to occupy when visited by Cabeza de Vaca and by Espejo on the lower Rio Grande.¹²

That active missionary work was conducted by Letrado among the Jumano is certain. We have seen that this friar was assigned to the tribe soon after his arrival in New Mexico as a member of Perea's band in the spring of 1629; but three years later we find him at Zuñi on his way to convert the savage and little-known "Cipias," although he was murdered by the Zuñi before he reached them, on February 22, 1632—a century to the day before the birth of Washington.

Why missionary work among the Jumano was thus apparently abandoned, there is no definite knowledge, but it would seem to have been due to another shifting of the tribe from New Mexico to the plains, and another change from their erstwhile sedentary life to that of buffalo hunters. There is a suggestion of this, indeed, in an account written by Fray Alonso de Posadas,¹³ who states that Fray Juan de

¹² Compare Bandelier, *Gilded Man*, p. 255, 1893, and *Final Report*, pt. I, 131, 132, 168, and pt. II, p. 267; also *Fifth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Archaeological Institute of America*, pp. 37, 85, 1884. We must assume that the four "puercoblos" occupied by the tribe in Oñate's time (1598) had all been abandoned and that the "great pueblo of the Xumanos" mentioned by Benavides had been established after the Jumano had been induced by Salas to return from the plains. Bandelier suggests that the Piro pueblo of Tabirá was probably the village of the Jumano, but I find no evidence that the Piro and the Jumano occupied a settlement together (Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. I, pp. 131, 132). Escalante (op. cit., *Land of Sunshine*, March, 1900, p. 248) states that on account of Apache hostilities the pueblos of Chilili, Tafique (Tajique), and Quarac of the Tehua (Tigua) Indians; and Abó, Jumancas, and Tabirá of the Tompiros, were abandoned. That "Jumancas" and the "Pueblo de los Jumanos" were one and the same there appears to be no doubt, consequently if Jumancas and Tabirá had been the same village they would hardly have been mentioned as distinct. Escalante, who wrote in 1778, gathered his information from the official archives at Santa Fé.

¹³ "Informe a S. M. sobre las tierras de Nuevo Mejico, Quivira y Teguayo," in Fernandez Duro, *Don Diego de Penalosa*, Madrid, 1882, p. 59. Posadas was custodian of the missions of New Mexico in 1661-64, during the governorship of the notorious Don Diego de Peñalosa y Briceño, and was a missionary there for ten years previously. His *Informe* was written after 1678.

Salas and Fray Juan (Diego?) de Ortega, with an escort, visited the Jumano on a stream which they called Rio Nueces, and Ortega remained among them for six months. From this account the Rio Nueces might have been almost anywhere in the country of the plains, and not necessarily the present Rio Nueces of Texas.¹⁴ The important point, however, is the fact that Letrado had abandoned his station among the Jumano in eastern New Mexico in 1632, and that in the same year Salas went forth again on the plains apparently for the purpose of bringing them back.

The history of New Mexico between Benavides' time and the great Pueblo rebellion of 1680 is meager indeed, consequently of the shiftings of the Jumano, if any there were during that period, little is known. In 1650 they were evidently still on the plains, for, according to Posadas, Captain Hernan Martin and Diego de Castillo in that year went with some soldiers and Christian Indians 200 leagues from Santa Fé to the "Rio Nueces" where the Jumano were again found. They remained in the region more than six months, going southeastward down the river for 50 leagues, visiting the Cuitoas, Escanjaques, and Aijaos, and finally the Tejas. During their journey the party traversed, from north to south, a distance of 250 leagues, or, according to Posadas, from the latitude of Santa Fé in 37° to that of the Tejas in 28°. It should here be noted that the Escanjaques have always been identified with the Kansas or Kaw Indians, and such may be the case. The Cuitoas, the Tejas (Texas or Hasinai), and the Aijaos, however, were Texan tribes, and indeed the last, as later will be seen, are identifiable with no other than the Tawehash, the name of the southern branch of the Wichita, sometimes applied to the entire Wichita group, as well as to the Wichita proper. This point should be borne in mind, as the Jumano and the Aijaos are here mentioned as if two distinct tribes.

In 1654 another journey was made to the Jumano on the Rio Nueces by Lieutenant-Colonel Diego de Guadalajara, with 30 soldiers and 200 Christian Indians. The Cuitoas,

¹⁴ Compare Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, 167, note, 1890; Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, 1, 386, 1886.

Escanjaques, and Aijaos were this time at war. Captain Andrés Lopez, of the party, with twelve soldiers, together with some of the Christian Indians and Jumano, were sent forward, finding a rancharia of Cuitoas, 30 leagues eastward, whom they severely defeated.

These facts are mentioned for the purpose of showing that the Jumano, at least, although friendly toward the Spaniards, had apparently not occupied eastern New Mexico for some twenty-two years prior to 1654, but that they were living on the plains and leading their customary semi-sedentary life.

As previously stated, Fray Juan de Salas, earlier in the century, found the Jumano on the prairies about 112 leagues eastward from the Rio Grande. But distances given by the early Spanish travelers must be regarded as only approximate, and there is no reason for believing that the tribe had moved farther away simply because Captains Martin and Castillo, in 1650, are said to have found the Jumano on the Nueces 200 leagues from Santa Fé. They may have been in practically the same spot during this quarter century.

There is ground for strong suspicion that the village or villages of the Jumano on the plains at this time were in proximity to if not actually at the Cuarteletejo, or Cuarteletejo, mentioned frequently by writers of the 18th century. The distance of the Jumano from Santa Fé, according to two writers above cited, varied from 112 to 200 leagues (300 to 530 miles); while El Cuarteletejo, according to the record, was from 130 to 160 leagues (350 to 425 miles) from the New Mexican capital.¹⁵ This Indian outpost was situated in the valley of Beaver creek, in northern Scott county, Kansas, as has been shown by Williston and Martin.¹⁶

El Cuarteletejo first appears in history about the middle of the seventeenth century, when "some families of Christian

¹⁵ Bandelier in *Arch. Inst. Papers*, Am. Series, v, 182, 183, 1890; Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, 237, 1889.

¹⁶ "Some Pueblo Ruins in Scott County, Kansas," in *Kansas Historical Collections*, vol. 6, p. 124, Topeka, 1900. See also a comment on the article by the present writer in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 2, 1900, p. 778. For the location of Quivira, which, as we have seen, was beyond the Jumano settlements on the plains, see Hodge, "Coronado's March to Quivira," in Brower, *Harahey (Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi)*, St. Paul, 1899.

Indians of the pueblo and tribe of Taos uprose, withdrew to the plains of Cibola [i. e. the buffalo plains], and fortified themselves in a place which afterward was for this reason called the Cuarteletejo. And they were in it until Don Juan de Archuleta [in 1652?], by order of the Governor, went with 20 soldiers and a party of auxiliary Indians and brought them back to their pueblo. He found in the possession of these revolted Taos, casques and other pieces of copper and tin; and when he asked them whence they had acquired these, they replied 'from the Quivira pueblos,' to which they had journeyed from the Cuarteletejo. . . . From Cuarteletejo in that direction one goes to the Pananas [Pawnees]; and to-day it is seen with certainty that there are no other pueblos besides the said [Panana] ones, with which the French were by then already trading. Besides this in all the pueblos which the English and French have discovered, from the Jumano to the north or northeast, we do not know any to have been found of the advancement and riches which used to be imagined of the Gran Quivira."¹⁷

It has been seen that the Jumano were still on the plains in 1654, and that their former settlement in the Salinas of New Mexico had evidently long been abandoned. It is said that, in 1670, "many Indians from the Pueblo of the Jumanos were at El Paso, but the roads to the [former] Jumano country [the Salinas] were closed by the Apaches,"¹⁸ whose depredations soon became so serious that between the years 1669 and 1675 every settlement of the Piro and Tigua east of the Rio Grande had been permanently abandoned on their account. I find no evidence that any Jumano inhabited that part of New Mexico at this time, however,¹⁹ nor is there any

¹⁷ Letter of Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, April 2, 1778, translated in *Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, Cala., vol. xii, p. 314, 1900. The citation tends also to show the proximity of El Cuarteletejo and the "Quivira" or Wichita settlements.

¹⁸ *Libro Primero de Casamientos de el Paso del Norte*, fol. 12, cited by Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. II, p. 267.

¹⁹ See Vetancurt (*Cronica*, p. 325, reprint 1871), who says: "San Gabriel Abbo [Abó] tiene su sitio en el Valle de las Salinas. . . . Tiene dos pueblos pequeños, Tenabo y Tabira, con ochocientas personas que administraba un religioso: hasta aqui llega la administracion hácia el Oriente, aunque quince leguas de allí hay algunos xumanas, que eran de Quarac [Quarrá or Cuará] administrados." This would indicate that these Christian Jumano were settled a number of miles east of their old villages or rancherias at the Mesa de los Jumanos, which is only 10 or 15 miles in a straight

indication that they were in New Mexico at the outbreak of the Pueblo rebellion of 1680 or that they participated in that bloody revolt during the succeeding twelve years.

During this period the government of New Mexico was administered from El Paso, the provincial capital (Santa Fé) having been completely abandoned in 1680. On October 20, 1683, more than 200 Jumano visited El Paso for the purpose of asking for missionaries, "stating that thirty-two tribes were waiting for baptism, because, being on the point of fighting a great battle, and anxious because they were few while the enemy were more than 30,000 in number, they invoked the aid of the holy cross, of which they had heard from their forefathers, and at once there descended through the air a cross wrought in red, with a pedestal two yards in breadth. . . and that when this cross was put on their banner, they had conquered their enemies without losing a man, and gaining much spoils of war." Having acknowledged the miracle, they came to ask for baptism. Three friars went to them and found "a great multitude of Xumanas and Tejas; they decided to return with better preparation and a greater number of ministers. . . Some friars returned with the intention of going among the Xumanas and Tejas, to Caracoles river, where it is said that pearls are fished, in order that they might ascertain the truth. . . The apparition of the cross turned out to be uncertain, because it was a ruse devised by an Indian of the Tejas in order that the Spaniards might help them to cross the Conchas river to their land, which passage the Apaches were trying to prevent; and such chimeras are often tried by the Indians, because they know how easily the Spaniards can be made to believe them."²⁰

This statement is generally too indefinite to be of much value beyond the fact that the Jumano—or at least some of them—again ventured across the plains as far as El Paso, with another miracle to unfold. We may not assume from

course east of the ruins of Abó. Vetancurt, however, who wrote in 1692, lost sight of the fact that all the pueblos of the Salinas country had been abandoned on account of Apache depredations prior to the revolt of 1680, hence there is little likelihood that the Jumano neophytes remained.

²⁰ Vetancurt, *Cronica*, pp. 302-305.

the foregoing statement that the Jumano at this time were dwelling in the neighborhood of the Conchos-Rio Grande junction, where they were first met, as there is definite evidence that their old home had become occupied by the Conchos, Julimes, and Chocolomos,²¹ who, so far as is known, were unrelated.

In December, 1683, according to Escalante, "there arrived at El Paso, Juan Sabeata,²² an Indian of the Jumano nation, saying that all his people wished to be reclaimed to the Faith, and asked for ministers; and that not very far from their country were the Tejas, of whom he related so many things that he caused it to be believed that that province was one of the most advanced, fertile, and rich in this America. For which reason Fray Nicholas Lopez, then vice-custodian, desirous of propagating the Gospel, determined to go apostolically, without escort or defense, to this exploration with Fray Juan de Zavaleta and Fray Antonio de Acevedo." The governor, however, thought it unsafe for the fathers to go alone, so he formed an expedition of volunteers under command of Juan Domingo (Dominguez) de Mendoza, who accompanied the friars to the junction of the Conchos and Rio Grande, where the docile Conchos, Julimes, and Chocolomos now resided. Father Acevedo remained with them while the expedition set out for the Rio Pecos, and after many days "arrived at a rancheria of Indians who then were called Hediondos ["Stinkers"]. Among them were some Jumanes; and of the latter [tribe] was Juan Sabeata".²³ The party later returned to El Paso.

²¹ See Escalante, op. cit., p. 311, and compare Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, pp. 80-81, 85, 167, 246. I do not find any substantial evidence that the Julimes and the Jumanos were identical, or that the various small tribes mentioned in Spanish documents of the period were in any way related to the latter. Of the languages of the myriad small tribes mentioned in the annals of Texas, practically nothing is known. Fray Nicolas Lopez recorded a vocabulary of the Jumano language in 1684, but it has disappeared.

²² Born in the Jumano pueblo of New Mexico, according to *Confesiones y Declaraciones*, etc., 1683, cited by Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, p. 132.

²³ Escalante's Letter (1778) translated in *Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, vol. XII, no. 5, April, 1900, p. 309. Confirmatory of this account is the mention of the same Juan Sabeata, of the Jumana tribe living on the Rio Nueces, three days' journey eastward from the mouth of the Conchos, by Cruzati, evidently Governor Cruzat or Cruzate of New Mexico, who assumed the office in 1683. Sabeata refers to thirty-six tribes that lived on the Rio Nueces in 1683 (Cruzati in Mendoza, *Viage*, manuscript

Henceforward historical references to the Jumano are fewer and farther between. Bandelier even asserts that they "were lost sight of after the great convulsions of 1680 and succeeding years, and their ultimate fate is as unknown as their original numbers."²⁴ This is largely true, yet there are a few allusions to this erratic people, under the name by which they were known to the Spaniards, reference to which will prove of interest.

In 1700, according to contemporary documents,²⁵ the Jicarilla Apache brought word to Taos, the northernmost of the New Mexican pueblos, that the French had destroyed a village of the Jumano on the eastern plains; and in 1702 a campaign was made by the Spaniards in that direction which resulted only in loss of life at the hands of the Apache. It would seem from the circumstance of the destruction of the Jumano settlement, and from the facts that the Jicarilla Apache at this time were at the Cuarteletejo²⁶ and the French had penetrated as far westward as Nebraska or Kansas,²⁷ as well as into Texas, that the Jumano village was in the north.²⁸ There is distinct evidence, however, aside from that already presented, that a part of the tribe had been in Texas for several years, since they are mentioned in French

in Archivo General de Mexico, kindly communicated by Professor H. E. Bolton, now of Leland Stanford Junior University).

²⁴ *Final Report*, pt. i, pp. 168, 169. Bandelier quotes an early document to the effect that "as late as 1697 a Jumano Indian, a female described as 'a striated one of the Jumano nation,' was sold at Santa Fé for a house of three rooms and a small tract of land besides. This woman had been sold to the Spaniards by other Indians, who had captured her."

²⁵ Quoted by Bandelier, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*, p. 181, 1890; also *Final Report*, pt. i, p. 168, 1890. See also Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 222, 1889.

²⁶ Bandelier, *Contributions, Arch. Inst. Papers, Am. Ser.*, v, 183-184, 1890; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 222, 236, 237, 1889. The Cuarteletejo is here reported to have been 130 leagues from Santa Fé.

²⁷ Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, states, on the authority of Padre Niel, that about the year 1700 two little French girls had been ransomed from the Navaho, and that in 1698 "the French had almost annihilated a Navaho force of 4,000 men." The latter statement is probably an error, while in regard to the former the Navaho probably obtained the French girls from some other tribe, perhaps their kindred, the Apache.

²⁸ I fear that Bandelier (*Final Report*, pt. i, 168) has not sufficient ground for his assertion that the Jumano village of 1700 could not have been beyond the confines of New Mexico. The nearest Jicarilla settlement was 40 leagues (100 miles) northeast of Taos, while the main body—those of the Cuarteletejo—were 130 leagues (350 miles) northeast of Santa Fé, i. e. in Scott county, Kansas. See page 259, note 16.

documents of this period. Early in January, 1687, for example, La Salle heard of the Choumans, or Choumenes as they were called by the Teao (Tohaha) Indians among whom he then was, a short distance east of the Colorado river of Texas. These people, he was informed, were friends of the Spaniards, from whom they got horses; "that most of the said nation had flat heads, that they had Indian corn, which gave M. de la Salle ground to believe that those people were some of the same he had seen upon his first discovery."²⁹ Again, in 1691, we are informed, a few rancherias of the Jumano were visited by Governor Terán de los Rios, Father Massanet, and others, on the Rio Guadalupe of Texas.³⁰

The cause of the disruption between the French and the northern Jumano in 1700 does not appear, but the breach seems to have been healed by 1719, in which year Governor Antonio Valverde y Cossio led an expedition northward and northeastward from Santa Fé against the Ute and Comanche. On a stream called Rio Napestle (probably the present main Arkansas river), the Governor met the Apache of Quartejejo (i. e. the Jicarillas), and found men with gunshot wounds "received from the French and their allies, the Pananas [Pawnees] and Jumanas." Here³¹ again we have definite evidence that a branch of the Jumano was still in the north during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It should be noted also that the Jumano here mentioned were allies of the Pawnee.

No definite reference to the northern Jumano between 1719 and 1750 has yet been found. The members of the ill-fated Villazur expedition from Santa Fé to the northeastern plains, and probably as far as the Missouri river, in 1720, saw nothing of them, so far as the meager account of the expedition³² shows, although other tribes are mentioned.

²⁹ Joutel's Journal in French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, pt. 1, p. 139, 1846.

³⁰ Terán and others cited by Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas*, I, 416, 1886.

³¹ Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 236, 1889; Bandelier, *Contributions*, 182-183, 1890.

³² See Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 179 et seq.; also "Some Unpublished History - A New Mexican Episode in 1748," *Land of Sunshine*, VIII, February, 1898, p. 129.

In 1750, however, definite and important testimony was offered by one Pedro Latren, a Frenchman at Santa Fé, who spoke of a tribe, evidently the Tawehash (Taovayas), called by the French "Panipiques (Panipiquets) alias Jumanes." Latren referred to these Indians as "parciales de los Franceses con los Cumanches." He also called them Piniques and said they were four or five days from the French fort "Canes" or Arkansas.³³ Here we have more definite information regarding the affiliation of the Jumano than has yet appeared, and accounts to a greater or less extent for the persistent references to the existence of a Jumano band in the north during a period of many years, as well as explains the mention of the Jumano and the Aijaos together in 1650. Now, the Paniques, Panipiquets, etc., as they were designated by the French, were the Wichita, the tribe which, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was known to the Spaniards as "Quiviras." The French designation, of course, had allusion to their common practice of tattooing the face, and indicates also relationship with the Pawnees; that is, they were "pricked, or tattooed, Pawnee," a designation recalling the Jumanos or "Rayados" of Oñate in 1598, and the alliance between the Jumano and the Pawnee mentioned by Valverde y Cossio in 1719. The name Jumano, it will also be seen, was applied to both the Wichita and their immediate relatives the Tawehash, or Taguayazes, as they were called by the Spaniards, a southern or Texas branch of the tribe, long before the Wichita drifted southward from Kansas to the vicinity of the mountains in Oklahoma that still bear their name.

Another important item in the historical testimony dates from 1778, on June 15 of which year a *junta de guerra* was held in Chihuahua, at which were present most of the military authorities of the province. The report of the *junta* says: "The Taguayazes [Tawehash]...are known in New Mexico by the name of 'Jumanes' also."³⁴ The "Ta-

³³ Declaration, recorded in Spanish, of Pedro Latren, March 5, 1750, manuscript in Archivo General de Mexico, Provincias Internas, tomo 37. Information kindly communicated by Professor Herbert E. Bolton.

³⁴ Cabello, *Informe*, 1784, folio 20, manuscript. Information kindly communicated by Professor Herbert E. Bolton.

guayazes" were then on upper Red river, hence not far from the region of the Wichita mountains, their subsequent and present home.

A few years later, in 1789, M. Louis Blanc, commandant at Natchitoches, Louisiana, wrote General Ugarte urging the opening of trade between New Mexico and Louisiana by establishing a presidio among the Jumano;³⁵ and in 1812, or thereabouts, it was said (probably an inspiration due to the exploit of Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike in 1806-7) that the Americans had established "gun factories" among the Jumano and Caigues (Kiowa), and that muskets and powder from this source were obtained for New Mexico.³⁶ The item is interesting as being probably the first reference to the association of the Wichita-Tawehash and Kiowa, who from 1866 occupied the same reservation in Indian Territory and Oklahoma until a large part was allotted and the remainder sold in 1901.

Reference has been made to the settlement of the Wichita in the country of the Wichita mountains in the present Oklahoma, after having occupied the so-called Quivira country of Kansas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Further evidence of the connection of the Wichita-Tawehash people with the Jumano is afforded as late as 1844 by Josiah Gregg, who was engaged in the Santa Fé trade and was personally familiar with the plains and their aboriginal occupants. Gregg says that the northern portion of the Wichita mountains was known to Mexican ciboleros and comancheros as Sierra Jumanes,³⁷ which recalls the name still applied to the mesa in the Salinas region of New Mexico. In the same connection Gregg makes the interesting statement that the range of hills known as the Wichita mountains are also sometimes called Towyash by hunters, "perhaps from Toyavist, the Comanche word for mountain." Gregg evidently was unaware that Tawehash, or Towyash as he calls it, was the name of a Wichita division, evidently

³⁵ Manuscript cited by Baneroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 276, note, 1889.

³⁶ Pino, *Exposicion Sucinto*, Cadiz, 1812, and *Noticias Historicas*, Mexico, 1849, cited by Baneroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 286, note.

³⁷ Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, II, 147, 1844. *Ciboleros* were buffalo hunters, and *comancheros* were New Mexican Indian traders.

for the reason that by his time the entire group had become generally known to the whites as Wichita, while at the same time Indians of other branches of the Caddoan stock, to which the Wichita belong, designated, as they still designate, the entire Wichita group as the Tawehash.³⁸

The name Jumano, as applied to the tribe, had disappeared by this time, so far as the written record goes; but a trace of the name, dating from the middle of the century, lingered in the memory of an informant of Bandelier about 1890.³⁹ Of these people he says: "I have found . . . a trace dating as late as 1855. They were then living in Texas, not far from the Comanches, and the characteristic disfiguration of the face through incisions which they afterward painted, was noticed by my informant who visited them about thirty-three years ago." The facial decoration was plainly tattoo, and their proximity to the Comanche accords with information previously given.

We may now summarize the testimony as follows:

In 1535 and again in 1582 the Spaniards found a semi-agricultural tribe living in more or less permanent houses, some of them built of grass, on the Rio Grande at the junction of the Conchos in Chihuahua and along the former stream northward for a number of leagues. They subsisted partly by hunting the buffalo, and raised beans, calabashes, and corn. At the date last mentioned they were called Jumano, and the Spaniards named them also Patarabueyes. A distinguishing feature of the tribe was its tattooing, for which reason, when found east of the Rio Grande in New Mexico in 1598, they were called "Rayados" by the Spaniards. They were erratic in their movements. The Franciscans established a mission among them in New Mexico in 1629, but it does not seem to have been successful, for the Indians appear to have been here to-day but elsewhere tomorrow. In the seventeenth century they were found

³⁸ One of the latest references, from personal knowledge, to the Tawehash and the Wichita as distinct divisions, is that given by Isaac McCoy in *The Annual Register of Indian Affairs*, Washington, 1838, p. 27.

³⁹ Bandelier, *Final Report*, pt. 1, 246, 1890.

on the plains of Texas, and again living on the prairies to the northward, evidently in Kansas, the name seemingly being applied to each of two divisions of the same tribe or confederacy. Their custom of tattooing, the character of their houses, and their semi-agricultural mode of life during the century they were first known, suggest relationship, if not identification, with the Wichita people. References in unpublished Spanish documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries indicate that the Jumano of the Spaniards of New Mexico were the Tawehash of Texas; and it is known that Tawehash, the name of a division of the Wichita, was also the term by which other Caddoan tribes knew the Wichita tribe proper. There is direct information from the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Wichita mountains, which received their name because the Wichita tribe dwelt thereabouts, were also called "Jumanes mountains" and "Tawehash mountains," thus further substantiating the testimony that the Jumano and the Tawehash were one people. The Tawehash have been absorbed by the Wichita proper, and their divisional name is now practically lost. Likewise the term Jumano, which, originating in Chihuahua and New Mexico, passed into Texas, but seems to have been gradually replaced by the name "Tawehash," which in turn was superseded by "Wichita."

Thus is accounted for the disappearance of a tribe that has long been an enigma to ethnologists and historians.

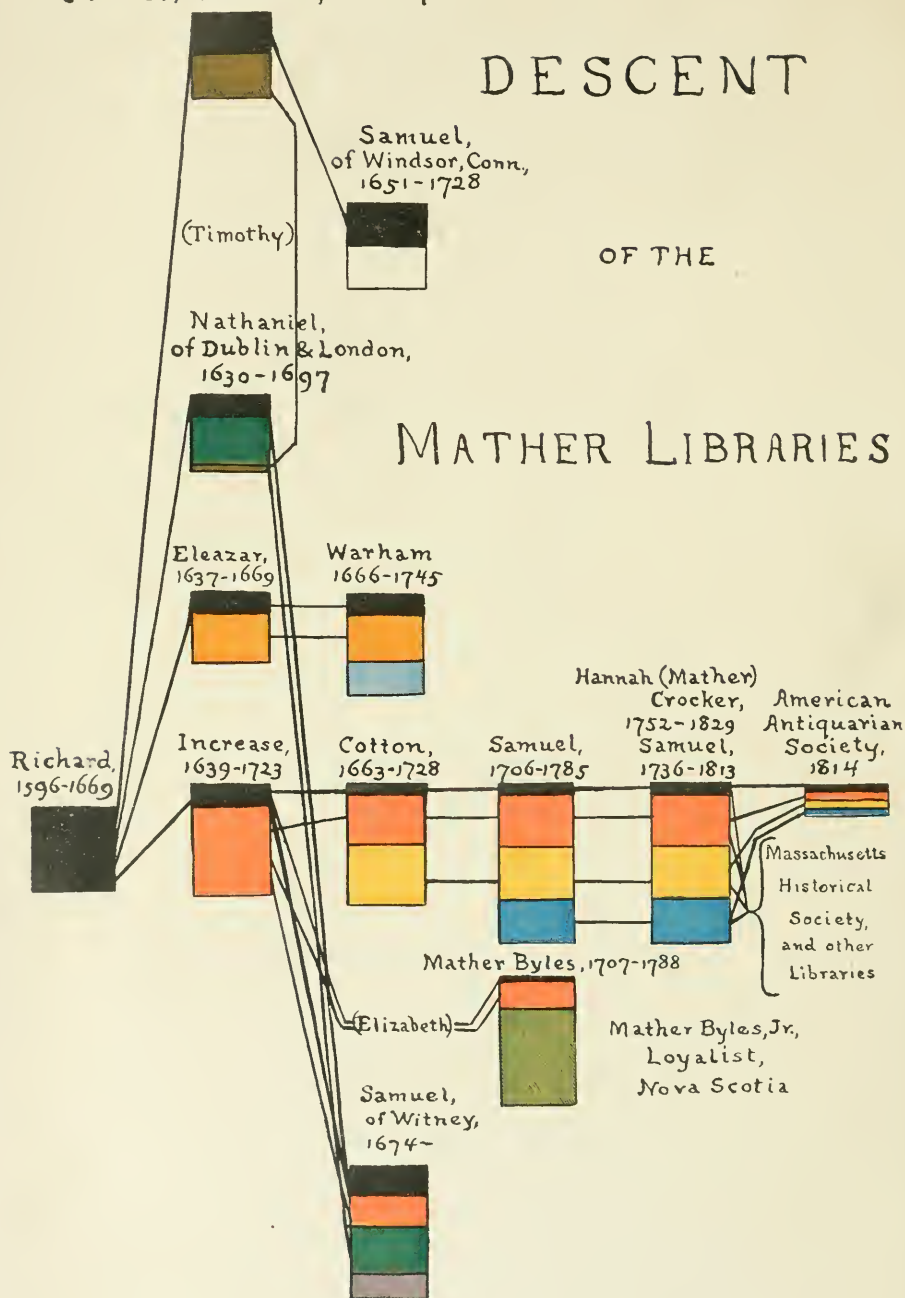
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,
Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D. C.

Samuel, of Dublin, 1626-1671

DESCENT

OF THE

MATHER LIBRARIES



THE LIBRARIES OF THE MATHERS

BY JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE

The history of the Mather Libraries began about 1610, with the early collection of books by Richard Mather, the first of the family to settle in New England. Two centuries elapsed, when in 1814 the so-called "remains of the old Library of the Mathers" were given to the Antiquarian Society. On the death of Samuel Mather, great-grandson of Richard, in 1785, all hope that the library would be preserved in the hands of the ministers of the family was ended; but it remained in possession of Samuel's children until it was dispersed.

This instance of the descent of ministers' libraries for so long a period in one family is remarkable. The Reverend John Higginson, in 1697, said,

that the Lord hath blessed the family of the Mathers amongst us, with a singular blessing, in that no less than ten of them, have accepted of him, to serve the Lord and his people in the ministry... though some have fallen asleep, yet the greatest part remain unto this day; I do not know the like in New England, and perhaps it will be found rare to parallel the same in our countries.¹

The ministers of New England in Colonial days were the learned men. The libraries of that period, large or small, were mostly in their possession. These men were spoken of as "learned, prudent, and holy beyond the common rates," who "honored study and revered the symbols and instruments of learning." They were "trained to the use of books, and accustomed to express themselves fluently by voice and pen." The working tools of their profession were the ancient classics, and works of the "Fathers," and of the "Schoolmen."

¹ Mather's *Magnalia*, I. 17.

Between 1630 and 1690, it is thought that there were as many graduates of Cambridge and of Oxford in New England as

would be found in a proportionate number of their fellow subjects in the Mother Country. Besides which our own college, for four-fifths of the time sent out streams, many of which flowed to make glad the land of their fathers.²

At one time there was probably one minister for every two hundred or two hundred and fifty inhabitants,—dwelling in the few villages of Massachusetts and Connecticut.³

It is estimated by Mr. Franklin B. Dexter that, in the period down to 1643, Cambridge University furnished about seventy New Englanders, and Oxford twenty-four men; and “that one person in every group of forty families proves to have been of university antecedents.”⁴ Most of this group of educated men were in the Bay Colony, and as Mr. Dexter says that “up to the time when Harvard graduates were ready to take up their work, there had been some threescore ministers regularly inducted into Massachusetts pulpits.”⁵

A few references to early libraries in the Colony are given below:

Elder William Brewster’s library is described as containing about four hundred volumes, the larger part theological, a list of which was prepared by the late Rev. Henry M. Dexter.⁶

William Blackstone, hermit minister of Boston, who later lived and died at Lonsdale, Rhode Island, had a library,

large for those days,—numbering, indeed, some 160 volumes,—but also ten manuscript books valued in the inventory of his estate at the not excessive sum of six-pence each, or five shillings for the lot. Close upon Blackstone’s death,—indeed, one short month only after,—King Philip’s war broke out; and among the first things to go up in flame and smoke was Blackstone’s home.⁷

² Savage’s Winthrop, I, 173; ³ 318.

⁴ 1 Mass. Hist. Proc., XVII, 341, 344; ⁵ 347.

⁶ 2 Mass. Hist. Proc., V, 37–85.

⁷ C. F. Adams in Proc., Oct. 1909, p. 11. See also 2 Mass. Hist. Proc., II, 481.

The library in the possession of the Massachusetts Bay Company was in large part selected by Rev. Samuel Skelton, being in addition to the gift by Mr. William Backhouse. Mr. George E. Littlefield⁸ says of the collection:

After its arrival in Salem, presumably the library was placed in Governor Endicott's house, but upon the arrival of Governor Winthrop it was probably removed to the "Great House" at Charlestown. It being a governmental library, when it was finally settled that Boston was to be the seat of the government, it was probably transferred to the second building of the First Church, and when the Town House was built, provision was made for its being kept there. It perished with the Town House in the great fire of 1711.

A reference to this library is found in report of Edmund Browne, 1638, communicated to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts by Mr. Frederick L. Gay in December, 1900.⁹

The list of this collection, taken from the Colonial Records is given below:

13 Aprill, 1629 . . .

This day notice was given that M^r Willm Backhouse had freely bestowed upon this Company to send for New England these bookes following, for w^{ch} thanks was given by the Governor and those present to the said M^r Backhouse in the Companies behalfe.

The Englishe Bible in folio, of the last print;
The Booke of Common Prayer;
Aynsworths Works, in folio,
Bishop Babingtons Works;
Calvins Institutions;
Fotherby against Atheists;
Malderott upon S^t Johns Gospell;
A booke called The French Country Farme.

The 16th of Aprill, 1629 . . .

M^r Skeltons Note of Bookes.

1 Gerards Meditations,	0	1	2
1 Helpes to Faith,	0	0	9
1 Rogers Workes,	0	7	0
1 Donhams Guide,	0	10	0
1 Aynsworth,	0	13	0
1 Downhams Warfare	0	13	0
1 Maire on the Epistles,	0	3	0

⁸ Early Massachusetts Press 1638-1711, I. 103, 104.

⁹ Pub., Col. Soc. Mass., VII. 80.

1 Dod on the Commandmts,	0	2	2
1 Robinsons Essayes,	0	2	8
1 D ^r Berd of Antichrist,	0	2	0
1 Practise of Piety,	0	1	6
1 Dyke on the Heart,	0	2	0
1 Of Conscience,	0	1	0
1 Downham on the Commandmts,	0	1	6
1 Communion & S ^{ts} ,	0	1	6
1 Arrow against Idolatry,	0	0	6
1 Scudder on the Lords Prayer,	0	1	2
1 Helpe to Happinesse,	0	1	0
1 Scudders Directions,	0	1	6
1 D ^r Tayler,	0	1	0
	3	6	3

Chemnitii Harmon;
 Pareus de Imaginibus;
 Piscator in Genesin;
 in Exod;
 Deuteronomin;
 in Chronic;
 Samuel;
 in Regum;
 in Psalmos;
 in Prophetas Minores;
 in Proverbia & Cantica;
 in Jobam;
 in Isaiam;
 Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica;
 Bellarminus Enervatus, 2 vol;
 1 Ametii Medulla, 12;
 Molerus.

Amount unto 3^{li} 15^s.

A Note of the rest of the Bookes, 16th Aprill, 1629.

1 Scapula,	0	13	0
1 A Concordance,	0	15	0
1 Pareus in Rom ;,	0	7	0
1 D ^r Wilcox Works,	0	6	0
1 Paget against Aynsworth,	0	2	6
1 Wemes his Image,	0	2	0
1 Bernard against Brownists,	0	1	8
1 A Bible,	0	6	0
1 Raising Brownisme,	0	0	8
1 Moses Unvayled,	0	} 1	4
1 Popish Glorifying,	0		
1 Clenards Grammer,	0	1	6

1 Camdens Grammer,	0	1	2
1 Esp. Greeke & Latin,	0	1	2
2 Ainsworths Psalmes,	0	1	4
2 dussen & ten Catechismes,	0	3	0
1 Rider London,	0	7	0
	3	10	4

Rev. Jose Glover, in planning for the printing press to be brought over to Cambridge "arranged to carry a large number of books, probably his private library."¹⁰

William Ames had intended "to follow Mr. Hooker [to New England]; but he died soon after Mr. Hooker's removal from Rotterdam."¹¹ His library "New England has had;" it was "translated hither" [in the early summer of 1637], with his widow and children.¹²

John Harvard had in his collection "books by Jesuit authors, placed by himself upon the shelves"; and in his house at Charlestown, he was "surrounded by the three hundred and seventy-three or perhaps more volumes which he brought over with him."¹³ These he bequeathed to Harvard College.

Of John Wilson's library, Cotton Mather said, Until going to a bookseller's shop, to augment his well-furnished library [then in England], he lighted upon that famous book of Mr. Richard Rogers', called "The seven Treatises."... he furnished himself with all the books that he could find written on the case of conformity, both pro and con.¹⁴

Ezekiel Rogers, Minister of Rowley, married for his second wife the daughter of Rev. John Wilson. On the night of his third marriage his dwelling house was burned to the ground, and

His books wherewith he recruited his library, after the fire which consumed the good library that he had brought out of England, he bestowed upon Harvard College.¹⁵

John Cotton estimated the value of his books, one hundred and fifty pounds "though they cost me much more," and left them to his sons, Seaborn and John, to

¹⁰ G. E. Littlefield, *Early Mass. Press*, I. 53.

¹¹ *Magnalia*, I. 245, 340; ¹² I. 236.

¹³ Andrew McFarland Davis, *John Harvard's Life in America*, pp. 22, 33, reprinted from the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Vol. XII.

¹⁴ *Magnalia*, I. 304; ¹⁵ 412.

be divided equally,¹⁶ "because they are of use only" to them.¹⁷

Indeed, his Library was vast, and vast was his acquaintance with it; but although amongst his readings he had given a special room unto the *fathers*, and unto the *school-men*, yet at last he preferred one Calvin above them all.

Rev. Theophilus Gale, who is said to have devoted the whole of his estate to the advancement of education and the cause of learning, bequeathed his library, "one of the most select and valuable in the possession of a private individual in that day," "to Harvard College; and it constituted for many years more than half of the whole College Library."¹⁸

Rev. Peter Bulkley, "a most excellent scholar, a well-read person," who went "up further into the woods" and gathered the "twelfth church then formed in the Colony," at Concord, "endowed the library of Harvard-College with no small part of his own."¹⁹

Richard Bellingham left, according to his inventory, a "library of books."²⁰

It is related of John Winthrop, the younger, that, having many books in a chamber where there was corn of divers sorts, had among them one wherein the Greek testament, the psalms and the common prayer were bound together. He found the common prayer eaten with mice, every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any other of his books, though there were above a thousand.²¹

Nearly three hundred Winthrop volumes are now in the New York Society Library,²² including books from this collection, some of Wait Winthrop and John Winthrop F. R. S., through whose hands they passed. The Massachusetts Historical Society also has a number of volumes from the Winthrop Libraries, containing signatures of the Winthrops, Adam, John, Jr., and John F. R. S., given to the Society by Thomas L. Winthrop in 1811.

¹⁶ N. E. H. G. Reg., V. 240.

¹⁷ Magnalia, I. 274.

¹⁸ Quincy's Harvard University, I. 184, 185, 513.

¹⁹ Magnalia, I. 400.

²⁰ Chamberlain's History of Chelsea, I. 427.

²¹ Savage's Winthrop, II. 24.

²² I am indebted to Prof. George L. Kittredge for this information.

In 1642, the magistrates gave to Harvard College from their libraries, books to the value of £200; Governor John Winthrop gave forty "choice books," valued at £20; Rev. Ezekiel Rogers a part of his library in 1660; Rev. John Lightfoot his whole library, in 1675; and Sir John Maynard "eight chests of books, worth £400, in 1682."²³

Rev. Samuel Lee, of Bristol, Rhode Island, of whom it is said that "hardly ever a more universally learned person trod the American strand"²⁴ was a writer of books and had a library of more than fourteen hundred volumes, as shown by the sale catalogue published by Duncan Campbell, bookseller, Boston, 1693. Several Lee volumes are in the Winthrop Collection, New York Society Library, one volume has come to light in the Boston Athenæum, and one in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library.

Robert Keayne, an early benefactor of Boston, who died on March 23, 1655-56, provided in his bequests for the building of a Town House in which "there may be a convenient roome for a Library," and for "the beginning of that Library he gives his four "great writing books," an exposition of the Bible, "written with my owne hand." He then provided that if the Town should build "a handsome roome for a Library & another for the Eld^{rs} and Scholl^{rs} to walke & meete in," within three years after his death, John Wilson and John Norton shall "view over the rest of my bookes" after "my wife and son Benjamin have made choyce of some books for their owne use" and select "such as they shall judge fitt "for the Library."²⁵ A volume, London, 1643, containing Keayne's signature written the same year, is in the Prince collection, Boston Public Library.

Rev. John Danforth, of Dorchester, left a library at his death valued at £300.

Rev. John Oxenbridge, in his will proved January 9, 1674-75, bequeathed to his wife Susanna a few volumes "besides y^e books she had in her former widow hood," Rogers on Judges, his seven Treatises, and Thomas Good-

²³ Quincy, I. 512, 513.

²⁴ Magnalia.

²⁵ Suffolk Probate, VI. 75.

win "his child of Light"; and twenty-six volumes "to ye publick Library in Boston." His manuscripts he left to be disposed of by his executrix.²⁶

Daniel Maud, chosen master of the Grammar School in Boston in 1636, by his will proved June 26, 1655, bequeathed "what few books I have" to leave, including some in the Hebrew tongue.²⁷

These instances show that there were many libraries brought over by the early settlers, to which there must have been accessions from foreign bookshops, as well as from those in Boston. Undoubtedly in many of the poorer parishes, the libraries depended much upon gifts, as in the case of Edward Taylor of Westfield:

Unable, through the poverty. . . to purchase his necessary professional books, all, or nearly all those used by him were in manuscript, which he had transcribed as he had found opportunity. Beside these, his library was enriched by such other books as the kindness of his distant friends supplied for his perusal,—some of which, upon general and natural history, which was a favorite study, are still extant. His manuscripts were all handsomely bound in parchment by himself.²⁸

The Massachusetts Historical Society has a volume, once owned by Mr. Taylor, containing nine tracts, 1701-1705, bound in parchment or pig-skin, probably by Mr. Taylor himself. These tracts were all likely given to him by their authors, as four bear evidence of the fact. Beside the signature of Edward Taylor there appear "Ezra Stiles 1760" and "A. Holmes." The volume was received by the Society from Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, in 1871. On one of the tracts "A Discourse" by Jeremy Dummer, in the handwriting of Dr. Stiles, "Ezra Stiles Liber. This Mr. Dummer was afterward Agent for Massachusetts at the Court of London, and a great Solicitor of Books & Benefactions for Yale College."

Richard Mather, silenced twice in England, set sail on May 23, 1635, from Bristol for New England and reached Boston on August 17. After remaining in Boston where

²⁶ N. E. H. G. Reg., 44. 86.

²⁷ N. E. H. G. Reg., V. 241.

²⁸ Sprague's Annals I. 179.

both he and his wife joined the Church, he received a call to be minister of the Dorchester Church. A large number of the members of this Church and their minister, Rev. John Warham, had removed to Windsor, Connecticut. Mather became teacher of the new Church. Here "he continued a blessing unto all the churches in the wilderness until his dying day," April 22, 1669. He was born in Lowton, England, in 1596, and is spoken of by Hooker as "a mighty man." He was an important factor in our early church history. His diary throws no light on his library. A temporary addition to his collection was made on January 11, 1647-48, when he borrowed from John Johnson and William Parks, of Roxbury, ninety volumes, a list of which has been published.²⁹

Richard Mather thus disposed of his books:

Mr. Perkins works three volumes to Timothy.

Mr. Scudder Treatise on Christians daily walke to Elizabeth.

As for all the rest of my Books not formerly expressed, mentioned, together with all my written Papers and manuscripts whatsoever, . . . Except only such writting as doe Concerne my Lands or other Outward Estate, All these, with the deskes and Tables in my studdy and the Trunk that is there, Also, I Give to my Beloued Sonns Samuells, Nathaniell, Eliazer and Increase Mather, to bee distributed and diuided Amongst them, in manner following, that is to say, that Nathaniell, Eliazar and Increase, shall Each of them haue one fifth part thereof, and the other two fifth parts to bee to my sonn Samuel Mather.⁸⁰

Samuel, the eldest son, who thus received his double portion, was born in England on May 13, 1626, and was a lad of nine years when he came with his father to New England. After his graduation from Harvard College in 1643, he remained in this country until late in 1650, and during a part of the time was probably a tutor at the college. On the organization of the North Church, Boston, on June 5, 1650, he was the preacher. He soon went to England and later became minister at Dublin, where he was silenced in 1660. Then for a brief period he was in England, and

²⁹ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. VIII. 76, 77.

⁸⁰ N. E. H. G. Reg., 20. 251, 252.

in 1662, he was called back to his Church in Dublin, where he died on October 29, 1671. In this latter period, he preached to his Church in his "own hired house," which "being a very large one, was well fitted for that purpose."

In his will, proved in Dublin, March 7, 1672, he gave the double porcion of my father's manuscripts and books in New England to my nephew Samuel Mather, son of my brother Timothy Mather. . . . my own writings and manuscripts to my brother Nathaniel Mather, minister at Sudbury in the county of Suffolk in the Kingdom of England.³¹

This reference to his books in New England makes it probable that this "double porcion" might have remained, after Richard's death in 1669, in the hands of Increase or of Samuel of Windsor, Connecticut, to whom the collection was now given. Nathaniel's letter to his brother Increase on April 7, 1681, shows that Increase might have been the repository for at least the manuscripts of their father Richard, until they were wanted. He says

I have by my fathers will an interest in his manuscripts; viz^t a 5th part of them, as my Br Sam had two fifths. . . . I pray you send me some of my fathers. I cannot name any tis so long since I left N. E.³²

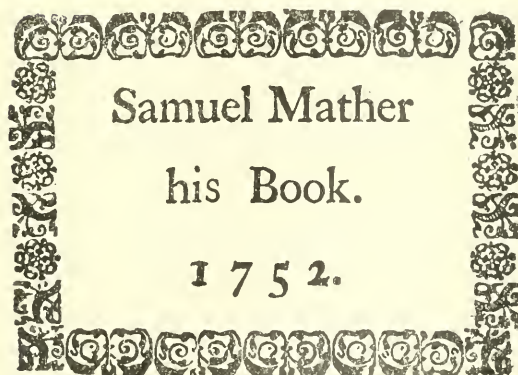
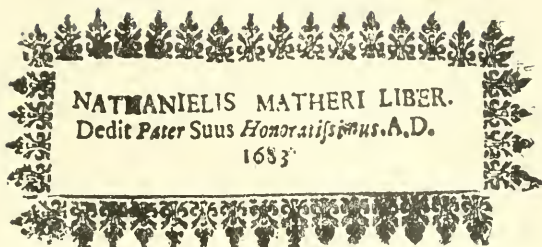
In the same letter Nathaniel mentions sending to Increase "some sermons of my Brs, preached in Boston." Nothing is known of the final disposition of the books in the Library of Samuel of Dublin³³ which he had collected himself; nor of those of the Library of Samuel, of Windsor, Connecticut, which presumably were left to his two minister sons, Azariah and Nathaniel.

Nathaniel, the second minister in Richard's family, was born at Liverpool on March 20, 1630, and came to New England with his father in 1635. He was carried from Toxteth to Bristol, where they set sail "on One side a Horse in a Pannier, and the young Mrs. Mary [Hinckley] on ye other." Some years after his graduation from Harvard

³¹ N. E. H. G. Reg., 52. 367.

³² 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 32.

³³ Mr. Ernest L. Gay has called my attention to a copy of Francis Potter's "Interpretation of the Number 666" (Oxford, 1642), offered for sale on a London catalogue for ten guineas.



BOOK-PLATES OF NATHANIEL AND OF SAMUEL MATHER.

The book-plate of Nathaniel Mather is preserved in a copy of the "Biblia Sacra Polyglotta," London, 1657, in the Boston Public Library; the book-plate of Samuel Mather, of Boston, is in a copy of Pridaux's "Introduction for Reading of Histories," Oxford, 1664, in the American Antiquarian Society.

College in 1647, he went to England, where he was silenced in 1662. He was minister at Rotterdam, and then followed his brother Samuel, on his death, at Dublin in 1671; and later ended his ministry in London, where he died on July 26, 1697. While his own works were few, he published several of his brother's works. An extract from Increase's will in 1719, indicates Nathaniel's disposition of his books. To his own bequest to his son Samuel, of Witney, England, he adds "And a considerable part of his Uncle Nathaniel's Library has fallen to his share."³⁴ The will of Mary Mather, widow of Nathaniel, proved March 6, 1705, says,

Mr. Samuel Mather [son of Increase] to have all the books and to pay to M^r Warham Mather [son of Eleazer] one hundred pounds. Mr. Mather's picture to N: Gwilym. To Mr. Samuel Mather his uncles watch.³⁵

Eleazar the third minister of Richard's family was born at Dorchester, May 13, 1637, graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1656, married Esther Warham, daughter of Rev. John Warham of Dorchester, later of Windsor, Connecticut, in 1659, and was ordained minister of Northampton on June 18, 1661. He died there on July 24, 1669, soon after his father. He did not benefit by the bequest of books to which he was entitled, but they probably went into the hands of his son Warham of New Haven. Warham's inventory, in 1745, included a long and interesting list of books, fully catalogued, covering twelve folio pages of the record.³⁶ By order of the Court in March 1748-49, this Library and his estate, valued at £2,134, was divided "among heirs of the whole blood." These were the four surviving children of his sister Eunice, who married Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield, and whose tragic death at the hands of the Indians is well known. It is impossible to follow this library in its dispersion.

The fourth minister in Richard's Mather's family, and the youngest son, Increase, was born at Dorchester, June 21, 1639, and was graduated from Harvard College in the

³⁴ N. E. H. G. Reg., 5. 446.

³⁵ N. E. H. G. Reg., 45. 296, 297.

³⁶ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, III. 320.

Class of 1656. He was the first native American to become President of Harvard College, which position he held from 1685 to 1701, when the General Court voted to require the President to live in Cambridge. He was minister of the North Church, North Square, Boston, from 1664 to his death on August 23, 1723. He was married to Maria, only daughter of John Cotton, on March 6, 1661-62, and lived during the first eight years of their married life in the house of his father-in-law, near the entrance to Pemberton Square from Scollay Square,³⁷ where their first four children were born. The next few years he lived in the house on the westerly side of North Square, bought by the Trustees of the North Church of Anthony Checkley; then for a short time in a house "wch was Capt. Bredons; and about 1678 he moved into the house, "wch was built for me," on the north side of the present North Bennett Street near Hanover Street.

The list of books given below, in the handwriting of Increase Mather, is in the possession of the Boston Public Library. Many of the entries near the end of the manuscript are interlined in a finer hand by Mather, and some of them may be of books printed later than 1664. It will be noticed that he closes with memoranda of books lent. Until the establishment of the circulating libraries in the eighteenth century, the ministers' Libraries supplied in this way books to those who needed them.

A Catalogue of Books belonging vnto Mr Increase Mather. 8^{vi}. 18. 1664. At Boston in N. England

In Folio.

Justini Martyris opera Græco-	Burgess on 1 Cor. 3 with Psal.
Lat. cum Athenagora.	4 verse 6 et.
Theophilo. & Hermia.	Petrius Martyr in Jud. & Samuel 1.
Cyprani opera.	Hildersham on Joh. 4.
Polani Syntagma.	Fenners Workes.
Leigh Body of divinity.	Funeral Sermons.
Piscatoris opera. Vol. 1-3.	White on 3 Chapters of Genes.
Zanchii opera. Vol. 1-3.	Cottons Concordance.
English Annotations on Bible	Davenant Expos. in Coloss.
Vol. 1, 2.	

³⁷Memorial Hist. of Boston, I. 126, 157; and entries in the Mather Bible.

- Ejusdem Prelectiones de Ju-
 dice Controversiarum et de
 Justitiarum.
 Rainoldus in ffastum.
 Jewells defense of Apology.
 Ib. his Reply against Hard-
 ing. [2]
 Fotherbys Atheo-Mastix.
 Parker against the Crosse.
 Hooker of ecclesiastical Polity.
 Beards Theatre of Gods Judg-
 ments.
 World of Wonders, per H. Ste-
 vens.
 Clarks Martyrology.
 Calvisi Cronologia.
 Fabians Cronicle.
 Trithemii Historia &c.
 Concilii Tridentini Historia.
 Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores
 post Bedam.
 Grymstons papial History.
 Catalogus Festium vintalis.
 Magdeburgensium Historia ecc-
 les.
 Vol. 1-5.
 Hospinian de Festis.
 Scheckius de Antiquitatum
 Convivalibus.
 Keckermanni opera. Vol. 1, 2.
 Hemmingii opera.
 Erasmi Adagia.
 Petri Rami Scholia.
 Euclidis Elem. cum Comment.
 J. Baptistæ Montani Medicina
 [3]
 Burgesse of original sin.
 Jenkins on Jude.
 Josephus His works.
 Hildersham on Psal. 51.
 Purchases Pilgrimage.
 Howes History of England.
 Sr. Fr. Bacons Natural History.
 Tacituss Annales.
 Leigh of Religion and learning.
- Ejusdem Critica salva 4th
 edition.
 Folk on Rhemsts N. Test.
 Biblia Tremelii et Janu.
 Sands his Travels.
 J. de Laet America descriptio.
 Shindleri Lex Pentaglotton.
 Tertulliani opera.
 Scaliger de Emend. Temporum.
 Buchanan Rerum Scoticarum
 Historia.
 Hospinian de Templis.
 Elruchus Vesterum Theologo-
 rum ubi Philo Judaus cum
 multis alii . . . &c.
 English Bible.
 Clerks Examples. 1, 2 vol.
 Borrowed of Gover^{r⁸³} }
 Biblia Hebræa }
 Homes of Millennium }
 Scapula Lexicon. }
 Leigh critica sacra 2d Edit. }
 Betuleii Græc. Concord.
 Fox in Apocalypsin.
 Lud. de La Cerda.
 Owen of the Spirit.
 Medes Workes.
 Buxtorf Lex. Talmud, Robbin.
 Musculus in Psalmos.
 Owen on Hebrews Vol. 1, 2. [4]
 Moldonat. in Evangel.
 Delrio in Cantica.
 Herologia Anglorum &c.
 L^d Howard against Propheyses
 et.
 Espencæi opera.
 Jansenii Concord.
 Stapylton on Juvenal.
 Lee of Temple.
 Riverius Practice of Physick.
 Hieronymi opera. In 6 volumes.
 Adrichomius Theat. Terræ
 Sanctæ.
 Durrham on the Revelation.
 Hicks on Revelation 3 chaps.

⁸³ Crossed out in original.

In 4 to.

- Bithner in Psalmos.
 Kircheri Concord Hebr. Greeke
 2 vol.
 Eliaē Levitæ-Tishbi.
 Rami Scholæ Mathem.
 Acta Synodi dodrec.
 That Pope is Antichrist—per
 Bran [?].
 Angelo Crocer epit. Concili-
 orum.
 Wolshii Cronologia.
 Cameronis Prelectiones.
 Vossii hujus Theologicæ.
 Gataker de N. T. styli Puritate.
 Symonds on Apocalyps.
 Harmony of Confessions.
 Prideux Lect. et orat.
 Syriac Grammar.
 Virtue of Types of Christ &c.
 Hottingers Thethanus Philol-
 ogicus.
 Taylor on Types.
 Jacob. and Lud. Capel in N. T.
 et specilegium.
 Didoclavii Altare Damascen-
 num.
 Morini exercit. de Heb. et Gr.
 textus &c.
 Lud. de Dieu in Vet. Test.
 Lud. de Dieu in Evangel.
 Lud. de Dieu in Acta Apost.
 et Epistles.
 Drusius de Tribas sidis Judæ-
 orum.
 Drusii Adagia Hebræca.
 Menasseh Ben Israel Concil.
 Gen. et Ex.
 Grenhill on ezeziel [?]
 Drusius in N. T.
 Drusii Animadvers.
 & de Mandragoris.
 & in eccles.
 & de Ruth.
 Rainold on Obadiah.
 Gale Court of Gentiles.
 Armand [?] Censura et.
- Finch calling of Jews.
 Gouge 3 Arrows.
 Lightfoot on Exod.
 Bradshaw on 2 Thes.
 Woodcock on 2 witnesses.
 Brightman 4 sermons.
 Brightman on Prophet.
 Harrison's Messiah come.
 Keans [?] of London Ministers.
 Queries of Ordination.
 Causes of Pestilence. [5]
 Clenardi Græc. Grammar.
 Steph. dictionar Poet. &c.
 Dr. Willis Exercitationes Med-
 ico Physica.
 Sennerti, opera Vol. 1-5.
 L. Febun[?] Body of Chymistry.
 Alstedii encyclopædia Vol. 1, 2.
 Sculteti Medulla Patrum.
 Amesius in Psalmos.
 Ford on Psalmos.
 Huit on Joniah.
 Polani in Ezechiel.
 Temple Analysis of Several
 Psalmes.
 Heymsii exercit in Nov. Test.
 Bertramus in Matthew.
 Riveti. Comment. in Psal.
 Owen on Psal. 130.
 Bible with Annot. Genev.
 Translat.
 Cartwright in Coloss.
 Cartwright in Proverbia.
 Rest of 2d Reply.
 Twisse of Morality of 4th Com-
 mand.
 Bond of the Sabbath.
 Morning Exercises at Giles.
 Bernard on the Sabbath.
 Durrham on Canticles.
 Manton on James.
 Slater on His. both Epistles.
 Burroughs on 3 Ch. of Hos.
 His. Irenicum.
 Gospel Worship.
 Of Contentment.

- Of Courage.
 On Math. 11, 28 et.
 Of Evil of Sin.
 Moses choyce.
 Gospell Reconciliation.
 Dr. Stoughtons Works Vol. I.
 Gregentii disput. cum Herbæo
 Judeo.
 Weems, Vol. 1, 2.
 Stevens, Nature of Beast.
 Potter Nature of Beast.
 Clement Epistle to Corinthians.
 Hooker on Acts 2. 37.
 on Joh. 1.
 of Souls Humiliation.
 of Justification and Union.
 of souls preparation.
 Wisdom exalted &c.
 Ib. survey of Church Discipline.
 Strongs 30 select sermons.
 Firmins Real Christian.
 Beza Annot. Major. in N. T.
 Vol. 1, 2.
 Broeckerus in Verstium.
 Prins Histrio-Mastix.
 Ide Against Health drinking
 & love looks [?] [6].
 Burtons Pryns and Bastwicks
 Trial.
 Carleton and others about
 Tythes.
 Yates Modell of divinity.
 Sume of Divinity Published
 per Downham.
 Culverwell of light of nature.
 Bridges of Scripture light &c.
 Dyke of deceitfullnesse of the
 Heart.
 Flavel of Redemption of Christ.
 Dr. Vshers 18 Sermons.
 Dr Goodwins works.
 Dr. Preston of Faith, wor. &c.
 Prideux Lectiones.
 Dod on 10 Commandments.
 Dr Hills 6 sermons.
 Sympson of Faith and vnbelief.
 Raymund de Theologia Gratia.
- Owen de natura et studio The-
 ologia.
 Against Bidle.
 Against Freewill, et with
 duty of Pastor and People.
 of Communion with God.
 Sermons before Parliament.
 History of Church per S.
 Patrick.
 Cartwrights Catechisme.
 Aplingii Theologia.
 Allins Cronology.
 Prideux Introduction to His-
 tory.
 Jefferii Historia Gotteschalii.
 Scriptori Omnes generis cat-
 alogus.
 Gerard Harmon Evangel.
 Dr. Sibbs on Cantr. 5 Chapt.
 Mede in Apocalyps.
 Brightman in Apocal.
 Gifford on the Revelation.
 Pareus, in Matthew.
 In 1 Epist. ad Corinth.
 In Hebræ.
 In Apocal.
 Lactantii Opera.
 Sadertis opera Theologica.
 Voetii disputat. Vol. 1-3.
 Broughtons Conceit of Scrip-
 ture. [7]
 Hammond against Cawdrey of
 will worship.
 Robinsons mannmission &c.
 Johnson against Aynsworth.
 Sympsoni Hieroglyphica.
 Childs Patrimony
 History of Waldenses.
 Coei Censura Patrum.
 Tombs against PædoBaptisme.
 Gataker of Lotts.
 Jacob of Sufferings of Christ
 & descension.
 Rainoldi Petret, de lib. Apo-
 craph, vol. 1, 2.
 Jenison on Psal. 106. 37.
 Oecolampadius in Daniel.

- Twisse Contra Armin.
 Lud. Capelli Histor. Apostol.
 Ger. Bucer de Gabronatione eccles.
 Parkeri Libri duo de Polit. eccles.
 Ejusdem—Liber Tertius.
 Baxters Disputations of Church Government.
 Parei Controvers. cum Bellarm. Vol. 1-4.
 Bullinger de origine erroris.
 Pagets Christianography.
 Reasons of Dissenting Brethren.
 Ames Fresh Suit against Ceremonies
 Ejusdem Coronis.
 Gelaspy Arons rod Blossoming.
 Against English Popish Ceremonies.
 Agreement of Worcester. ...
 Goodwin on Eph. 2-14 et.
 Dr. Downams defense.
 Willet } de vocal Judgm.
 Holland } of witches.
 Cobbett of Infant Baptism.
 Lavater in 1 Esdræ.
 Hospinian de origine ceremoniarum.
 Mastin examen Colio...
 Wolphii cronol.
 Workes of Independents.
 Whites way of the Church.
 Apology of Brownists.
 Brent of Eternity.
 Mortoni Apologiæ pars 2da.
 Nowles of precious stones [8].
 Parker and Sanford, de descensu Christi ad Infervs.
 Pemble on ecclesiast.
 Parker expos. of 4 vial.
 An Admonition to the Parliament.
 2d Admonition.
 Baynes on 1 ch. to Ephes.
 Archer of the personal reign.
- Seven Problems de Antichrist.
 Gouge sermon on Ezr. 8. 21.
 Seaman Sermon on Mal. 4. 5, 6.
 Necomen on Isaii. 62. 6, 7.
 Dell on Heb. 9. 10.
 A justification of religion now confessed in England.
 Wallei Disput. de Predestinat. *προσφωνησις* Classium Zelandic. ad Anglie.
 Croly Conference between dissenters and Presbyters.
 Answer to Croly conference, per A. Stuard.
 Woodward judgment of Edwards Anti Apol.
 Annotations on Apol. Narrat, per A. S.
 That Presbyterian Government is divine.
 Aphorismes of State.
 Cracanthops sermon of Predestinat.
 The danger of Popery per Abbott.
 Directions how to gett and keep a good conscience.
 Necessity of a General Council speedily to be called.
 Reasons to Prove that it is unlawful to hear the ministers of England.
 Discoverer shewing Plotts of Lillburn.
 Lords day the sabbath.
 Treatise of Hospitality.
 Harrisonus Honoratus.
 Sr. H. V[ane's] Trial.
 That K. may abrogate prelacy without any violation of his oath. [9]
 The Catholick Moderation.
 Lord Bishops none of the Lords Bishops.
 Baynes diocesans Trial.
 Ames Answer to Morton about 3 ceremonies.

- Sheerwoods Answer to Dr. Woodward Quæries about using Lords Prayer.
 Downham.
 The ... and downfall of [R] Mather ceremonies per Smect. Answer to 32 Quest.
 16 new Queries proposed to Discourse of Church Covenant.
 our Lord Prelates. Answer to Herle.
 A defence of the Ministers Reply to Rutherford.
 reasons for the refusal of of Justification by Faith.
 subscription. in 3 parts. Farewell Exhortation.
 A Forme of ecclesiastical Govern- Mortons History of N. E.
 ment, tending to intro- Sr Henry Vane—Meditations
 duce Primitive Government. &c.
 The Pastor and Prelate compared. Prins disloyalty of Papists [10]
 Smectymnuus Redivus. Confession of the Assembly.
 Miltons defence of Smectym- Declaration at the Savoy.
 nuus with reasons of Church Owen about Power of Magistr.
 government against Prelates. and Tythes.
 A discourse of Leitrurgies, just- The discipline of France.
 ifying ministers that refuse Platform of New England.
 to use the Common Prayer Answer to 21 Questions.
 booke. Propositions of Baptisme and
 Consociat.
 Dwalphintramis [John Barnard's?] Antisynodalia.
 Anatomy of the Mr. Davenports Essay.
 Service booke. Shepards letter of Church
 membership.
 Seamans vindication of ordi- Apogetical Narration.
 nation. Anatomie of Independency.
 A Vindication of the Presby- Antidote against Independ-
 terial Government. dency.
 Tuba Belli Sacri. Ellis Vindicie Catholicæ.
 Oratio Papa esse Bestiam. Bartletts Modell of Congreg.
 Oratio descriminans. way.
 Pope Joane. per A. Cook. Stone Congreg. Church Cath-
 Articles of the Church of Eng- olicke visible.
 land. Burtons defence of Independ-
 Canons ecclesiastical. ent churches.
 Bowles sermon on Jon. 2, 17. His Answer to Bastwick.
 Bolton of Usury. Conformities deformity.
 Gilpins sermon before K. Edw. Spare Hors—in M. S.
 6. Dyke sermon on Heb. 11. 7.
 Gilpins life. The Planters Plea for N. E.
 Whitgifts life. Goodwins sermon on Psal. 108.
 Cottons life. 14, 15.
 Hudsons Unity of Catholick Reasons of No Adresse &c.
 Church. Reasons agt Bowing at the
 Sympsons diatribe of Ordina- name of Jesus.
 tion.

Cotton

- on 2 Sam. 7. 10.
 Churches Reformation
 on Rev. 20. 5. 6.
 Answer to Ball about
 Forms of Prayer.
 on Singing of Psalms.
 of Civil Government.
 Abstract of Laws.
 on Revel. 13 chapt.
 Way of churches in N.E.
 of Keys of Kingdome
 of Heaven.
 Answer to Bayly.
 of Vials.
 Answer to Williams.
 of the holynesse of
 Church Members.
 Whatelys Bride bush.
 Against Actors shewing the
 of stage plays &c.
 Defence of Ministers against
 [John] Bridges &c.
 The Judgement of the Synod
 of Dort.
 Bernards looke beyond Luther.
 Clavis Apocalyptica.
 Pearson about Tythes.
 Tombs about the oath of su-
 premacy.
 Bucers Judgement of divorce.
 Original of Popish Idolatry per
 Causabon.
 Defence of 9 Positions per Shep-
 ard and Allen.
 Torshill of hypocrisy.
 Davenport of the True Messiah.
 Dykes Caveat for Archippus.
 Examination per Congreg. El-
 dership.
 Of the sin against Holy Ghost.
 Burrows vindication and ser-
 mon on Math. 5. 6.
 Douglass sermon on 2 Cron.
 19. 6. [11]
 The Prerogative of Parliaments
 per Sr. W. Raleigh.

Remonstrance of state of the
 kingdom A. 1641.
 Solemn League and Covenant.
 Propositions sent to K. at New
 Castle.
 Declaration de pap. of Scotch
 Commissioners.
 Bills sent to K. to Ile of Weight.
 Religions retreat to Arrey.
 Remonstrance of Fairfax &c.
 Parliaments Reason for Va-
 cating votes.
 Act against Proclayming any
 person K.
 Vindication of London minis-
 ters against Ks death.
 Parliaments declaration upon
 March into Scotland.
 Armies declaration, 1650.
 Parliaments Answer to Ks de-
 claration, 1650.
 Declaration of Army for dis-
 solving Parliament, 1653.
 Answer to Scotts about Pray-
 ing pr Christ.
 Representation of Ireland.
 Traylors clayme.
 Speeches of Ks. Judges.
 Jerubbael redivious, where are
 queries about being present
 at Common pr.
 Religion of Proceedings of duty
 at Amboyna.
 Lives of Fathers per Fuller.
 Lives of 10 eminent divines per
 Clark.
 Hebræa Biblia.
 Practice of Physick.
 Thomasii dictionar.
 Symbolæography.
 A perambulation of Kent.
 Cambdens Remaynes.
 The Haven of health.
 Norwoods Trigonometry.
 Cracanthorpi Logica.
 Juvenal. et Persius cum Lvbini
 Commentar.

Noyes of King killing &c.	Bulkley of the Covenant.
Bridge of ordinances and grace above gifts.	Fleylins Geography.
Burroughs of Living to Christ.	Veserius de successione eccles- iæ.
Ainsworth on Genes.	Verstegans English Antiquities.
Exod.	Omerods Picture of Puritan and Papist and pagena Pap- ismus.
Deuteronom.	Marbeck Lives of Patriarchs.
Psalms.	Mede opuscula Latina.
Canticles.	Hornbeck contra Judæus.
Hebr. Biblia cum N. T. gr.	Conningius de Antiq. Academ.
Morning Exercise at Cripple-gate.	Lightfoot Horæ Talumdicæ &c.
Barrosius de polec. civitate dei et Hieron. Romana.	Cloppenburgii Histor. socini- anism præmis[?]. [12]
Reynolds 3 Treatises with med- itations on Lords Supper.	

In octavo.

4 English Bibles.	Sober guess on Prophesey et.
Suptuagenta Insurportes[?].	Ignatii Epistolæ. Dr. Moors dialogue &c.
Calvin Instit.	Waltons considerat, &c.
Cartwright in Ecclesiastica.	Introductio ad linguarum ori- ent.
Pareus in Roman.	Zepperus de Regimine eccle- siastico.
Brightman in Cantic. &c.	Christs reign or Millenium by J. F.
Scultetus in Isaii.	Ferrii Specimen Scholasticum.
Cartwright in gen. exod.	Theopolis.
Hooker application of Redemp- tion.	Zanchius cum erasto de divi- natione.
Durandi Rationale divinorum.	Melanthon in Evangelia &c.
Euchisedion Confessariorum.	Vrsini exercitationes.
Bellarmini Opera in 10 vol.	Sulpicii sem Historia cum Drusis Notis.
Norton against Pinchin.	Morney de Veritate religionis christianæ.
Doleman of Succession to the Crowne.	Farewell Sermons.
Danaus in August. de haer- esibus.	Lee, de Excidio Antichriste [1664].
Valla in N. T.	Fiat Lux [by J. V. Cane, 1662]
Whitakers de Scriptura.	Owen catechisme.
Ecclesia.	Owen Animadversions on Fiat Lux.
Pontifice.	Owen Vindication against Fiat Lux [1664].
Mortoni Apologiæ pars prima.	Baxter Gildas Salvianus.
Bucani Loci Communes.	
Synopsis (Leyd.) Purioris re- ligionis.	
Norton watchfull Animadver- sions in N. T.	
Hanmer of Confirmation.	
Bodii unio dissidentivm.	

- Alstedii Cronicon.
 Nemhusii Examen Philolog.
 Polidor Vergil de rerum Juven-
 toribus.
 Hottingeri Analecta Historico,
 Theologica.
 Zubbertus de ecelesiâ.
 Hornbeek Respons. ad Beverly.
 Pagetts Hæresiography.
 Zepperus de legibus Moscicis &c.
 A declaration of church disci-
 pline.
 Mactial of Crosse.
 Bonaventura Emil. Betramus
 de politia Judiciâ.
 Grotius de imperio Majestatis
 circa sacra.
 Apollonius de jure Potestatum
 circa sacra.
 Rutherford Exercitationes de
 gratia.
 Jewell on 2 Thes.
 Polanus in Malachium.
 Ferus in justice.
 Althameri Conciliatio Locorum
 Scrupturæ.
 Owen of the Sabbath.
 Burroughs of a Gracious Spirit.
 Generation of Seekers.
 Bridges 10 sermons.
 Bridges 9 sermons.
 Bridges 2 sermons.
 Tillinghast 8 last sermons.
 Cotton of Covenant: Gale of
 Infidelity.
 Beza de repudiis et divertiis.
 Poleweile of changing spirit.
 Camfield against Independents.
 Shepard of the Sabbath and
 Hearing word Christ.
 Mainards Memento.
 Sound believer [by T. Shepard].
 Greenhills sermons.
 Sincere Convert [by T. Shepard]
 Hildersham on Canticles.
 Reyner of Government of the
 tongue.
- Cotton Canticles.
 Ecclesiastes [13].
 Tillinghasts generation work.
 Maton of Kingd. of Christ.
 Plautus.
 Senecæ Tragæd.
 Sophocles Tragæd.
 Poetæ Minores.
 Gallii Noctis Atticæ.
 Suellii logica.
 Magiri Physica.
 Bright in Scribonii Physica.
 Bodin. Naturæ Theatrum.
 Golii ethica.
 Emnapius [?] de vitis Philoso-
 phorum.
 Graberolus de memoria et phys-
 iognomia.
 Downam in Rami dialect.
 Piscator in Rami dialect.
 Tempell in Rami dialect.
 Richardson in Rami dialect.
 Casi Logica.
 Burgedisui Logica.
 Hippii Problemata.
 Keckermanni Gymnasium Lo-
 gicum.
 Buxtorfii Lexicon Hebræum.
 Ribera de Templo.
 Livii decad. vol. 1, 2.
 Whitwels discourse of cere-
 monies.
 Lives of Englands Worthies.
 Epistolæ obscurorum virorum.
 Records Arithmetick.
 Acoluna Grammar Hebr.
 Schindler Hebr. grammar.
 Smelius.
 Schickardii Grammatica He-
 bræa.
 Martinii Grammar Hebræa.
 Ciceronis Oration.
 de oratore.
 de officiis.
 Demosthenes Orat. vol. 1, 2.
 Sylva Synd . . .
 Græc. Testam. Genev. Edit.

Cambden Grammar Græc.	Læe on Mortality.
Clavis græca Linguae.	Ratio ordines et disciplinæ
Clavis Homerica.	fratrum Bohemorum.
Buxtorfii Epit. Hebr. Grammar.	Robinson Apologia per Brown-
Martinii Grammar Chaldaic.	istus.
Horatius.	Symonds deserted Soul use
Ovidii Amorum Libri.	and Cure.
Æsopi Fabulæ.	Vincent of Christs coming to
Luciani dialog.	Judgment.
Anglorum Prælia.	Gods terrible voice.
Lucanus de bello civili.	The Practising of Piety.
Danes light to Lilly.	Gatkr cum notis Scalgeri. [14]
Farnaby Phrases.	Relation of Francis Spira.
Ejusdam Rhetorica.	Ramus de Religione Natura.
Lillii Gramat. Latin.	Bacerus in Actra Apost.
Talæi Rhetorica.	Reyner of Humane Learning.
Rami Praelection. in Virgil.	Hornbeck Apologia pro ecclesia
Georg.	Christiana &c.
Lemnius de occultis rerum	Apologia Pro non conformistos.
miraculis.	Aynsworth of comunion.
Sennerti Institut. vol 1, 2.	Owen of Schisme &c.
Sennerti Med. Præt.	Guild Moses unveyled.
Ejus Epitome.	Clarks Formulæ oratoria.
Ejus Instit. Compend.	Revelation Revealed in Mr.
Bertholini Anatome.	Duries Preface.
Miltons defensio Populi Angli-	Goodwin of Patience.
cani.	Herberts Poems.

These following books are in small octavo or in 16to.

Verulamus de Augmentis sci-	Lud. Capelli epistolii exsidis.
entiarum.	Clavis Apocalyptica Recusa.
Owen diatriba de justitia divinâ.	Oxenbridge sermons on Rev.
Perkins Reformed Catholick.	16. 5, Esther 50. 4, 5.
Perkins Aurea Armilla.	Considerations upon Govern-
Lincoln ministers Abridgement.	ment of Church of England
A survey of the Common prayer	per Apollonii.
booke.	An Attestation of many learned
Norton ag ^t Quakers.	divines that Church govern-
Norton Respon. ad Apollon.	ment ought to be with con-
Cawdry of Will worship.	sent of the People; and that
Græcum Testamentum.	a Church conteynes no more
Epistola Fratris Rogeri Baconis	Congregations than one. per
de secretis.	Jacob.
Artis et naturæ cum notis Joh.	Disuasions from Brownisme per
Dee.	Bernard.
Stoughton de faelicitate ultimi	Forme of Indentures.
Sæculi.	Hall against Long Hair.

Whitaker de Peccato Originali.	Revis de vsu capillitii.
Nyes Beams of Light.	Nepeyt Trigon. & Logerithmes.
Nortons Larg Catechisme.	Pasoris Manuale.
Hurst of Original Sin.	Whites Psalmes.
Manasseh Ben-Israel Spes Israelis.	Bucanans Psalmes.
Sydenham of Hypocrisy.	Owen directions to walk in Fellowship et.
Id. of Baptisme and singing.	Carionis Cronicon. [14]
Dr. Winter of Infant Baptisme.	Lent to Mr. Stoughton: Burroughs on 3ch Hosea; Holvici Colloq.; Baxter against Grotivs; Manton on Juries; Fiat Lux.
Beverly examen Hornbeck.	To Mr. Allen: My discourse on Rom. 11. 25. To Mrs. Thacher Burroughs of Sin.
Against Timpson.	To my brother J. C., My Lib 14.
Mede his Almost Christian.	To Mr. Stoughton, Winstanley English Worshippers, Camden.
Peters Legacy.	To Mr. Eliot: Gales Court of Gentiles; Hornius de origin Americ.; I. M. on Rev. 11. 25.
Leigh Sts encouredgement in evill times.	To Mr. Nicholet my diatrib. on Math. 24. 30.
Chishells young mans mementos with now if ever.	To Mr. Flint Finch and Hildersham on cant.
Hookers souls possession, with Funeral Sermon.	Lent to Mr. Willard 11m. 15, 1676. Joan de Laet descriptio America.
Conference between Mr. Cotton and elders.	To Mr. Richards Grimstons, Papial History 11 m. 77.
Juelli Apologia.	
Kibbies Burthen of Conscience.	
Ames Bellarmin Enervat.	
Ib. Medulla Theologiæ.	
Ib. Casus Conscientiæ.	
Ib. Rescript ad Grevincovium.	
Ib. Antisynodalia.	
Ib. Catachesis.	
Ib. Technometria, ad logica et disput.	
in Ethic et met. . . .	

Cotton Mather, in his "Parentator" refers to the fire³⁹ of November 27, 1676, which destroyed the house of his father, Increase, as follows:

His own House also took a part in the Ruines: But by the Gracious Providence of God, he lost little of his Beloved Library: Not an Hundred Books from above a Thousand; Of those also he had an immediate Recruit, by the generous offer which the Honourable Mrs. Bridget Hoar made him, to take what he Pleased from the Library of her Deceased Husband. (p. 79).

³⁹ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII. 159, 300.

Increase Mather, in his Diary⁴⁰ under date of November 27, 1676, says:

27) This was the fatal and dismall day, when the Meeting House and Houses therabouts, and mine amongst the Rest, were burnt with fire. The services of the day were such that I could doe nothing at my study. I and my wife and several of my children were kindly entertayned at Mr. Richards. The Lord reward him...

29) A. M. Time spent in drying my Bookes and taking care about another House and P. M. Removed things to C. Bredons House.

10m. 1d)... P. M. dined at Mr. Ushers et.

2)... P. M. perused dr Hoars Bookes....

4) A. M. geting Bookes at mrs. Hoars. where dined. sic P. M.

5) Removed from Mr Richards to that House which was Capt Bredons.

6) The Time spent in setting up shelves and Bookes.

The list of Mrs. Usher's gift, from the original in the Mather Papers in the Boston Public Library, is given below:⁴¹

Gesneri bibliotheca.	Targum in prophetas minores.
Buxtorfii concordantia bibliorum.	Piccolomineus Physic.
Parkinsons garden flowers.	Dempsteri Antiquit. Roman.
Pembrooks Arcadia.	Maxwel Prerogative of King and people.
Bp Halls works.	D[aniel] R[ogers] matrimonial Honour.
Ravanelli Bibliotheca sacra.	Helmont ortus Medicinæ.
Perkins's Works, Vol. I.	Simpson exposition of Peter.
Parkinsons Theatre of Plants.	Ames de Conscientia.
Ravenarius Radices Hebræa.	[] verii Historia.
Laurentii Historia Anatomica.	[] lvs Opera.
Clemens Romanus.	[] anni Compendium Theologiae.
Homes Ressurrection Revealed.	[] is opera Tomus 3tius.
Richardson's Annotations.	[] asii Historia.
4°	[] veni Historia totius Mundi.
Ciceronis Orationes.	[] isneri Philosophia sobria p. 2.
Rami Mathemat. cum Schoner.	[] oss Sermons.
Ignatii Epistolæ.	[] nstitutions Ecclesiasticæ.
Neandri Tobaccologia.	
Horstii opera medica.	
Simon paulus de abusu Tabaci.	
Dr. Taylor of Propheying.	
Aristotales de cælo.	

⁴⁰ 2 Proc., XIII. 373, 374.

⁴¹ Mather Papers, II. 29, in the Prince Library.

8°

Cornellii Agrippæ opera.
 Sabunde Theologiæ natur.
 Glaubus consolatio navigant.
 Angles flores Theolog quaest.
 Bullingeri Sermones.
 Heidfeldius Sphinx Theologica.
 Baptistæ magia naturalis.
 Pellisons French Academy.
 Jus populi vindicatum.
 Bartholinus de Nive.
 Tossain Loci Communes.
 Varandæus de affect. muliorum
 Timson of the Lords Supper.
 Bucani Instit. Theolog.
 Judgmt of Bp of Armagh.
 Acontius stratagemat. satanæ.
 Latin Bibl. cum Græc. Test.
 Childreys Britannia Baconica.
 Graat de vivorum organis.
 Gastendus Philosophiæ syntagma.
 Brightmannius in Cantic.
 [] age.
 [] Histor.
 Maierus Laws of fraternity of
 the Rosie Cross.
 Osborns advice to a son.
 Amesii Coronis.
 מִכְּדָה תְּלִים [Psalterium Hebraicum].
 Jesseys cases of Conscience.
 Whitlocke observat.
 of the Confess. and conversion
 of the greatest sinners.
 Gaspars grammatica philosophica.
 Sturmius de prædestinatione.

K. James Psalms.
 Patriarchæ.

12°

Greek Testament cum psalterio.
 Heereboord disputat.
 Plasson de generatione.
 Athanasii scrutinium pestis.
 Velthusius de Liene et generat.
 Amesii Bellariminus Enervatus.
 Tom 1.
 Jonstoni Thaumograph.
 Galtruchii Mathemat.
 Physica universalis.
 Philosoph. moralis.
 Redus de insectis.
 Anonimus de pace ecclesiæ.
 Ames Rescriptio ad graveneliorum.
 Junius vindicæ Religiones.
 Hogelande Agitationes.
 Ames de conscient.
 Ames on petrum.
 Methodus concionandi.
 Cases of Conscience.
 Rous Mystical marriage.
 Hornæus de usu auctores.
 Danses Arithmetick.
 Horace de Epilepsia.
 The times anatomised.
 Hippocratis Aphorismi.
 Randal οφθαλμος . . .
 Bellarminus Explicatio Symboli.
 Pamphlets of diverse sorts.
 A Catalogue of Bookes wch
 I red by ye great bounty of
 Madam Vsher, Decemb. 5.
 1676.

Chief Justice Sewall, as executor of Mrs. Bridget Usher (formerly wife of Leonard Hoar, President of Harvard College 1672-1674) sent to her daughter, Mrs. Bridget Cotton, a box of her mother's books. One book he held back, writing to Mrs. Cotton, April 12, 1726⁴² that

⁴² 6 Mass. Hist. Coll. II, 204, 205.

One of the principal Books mentioned in the Catalogue, though meanly bound, was a Folio of Bp. Hall's works which Dr. [Cotton] Mather challenged and I delivered it to him. Upon Examination I found his Name, and the Name of Dr. Increase Mather written in it.

From entries in several volumes in the Mather Collection at Worcester, it appears that Increase Mather bought books while in London, 1688-1691. By his will, proved September 23, 1673, he gave one-half of his Library to his son Cotton, and all his manuscripts, "desireing yt my Books & Manuscripts may not be sold or embezeled." He gave one fourth to his son Samuel of Witney, England, who had also a considerable part of his uncle Nathaniel's Library. The remaining fourth he gave to his "fatherless grandson, Mather Byles," son of his daughter Elizabeth, "in case he shall be educated for and employed in the work of the ministry."

It will be seen at this point that in 1723 only a small part of Richard Mather's Library remained in Boston, approximately one-tenth, in the possession of Cotton Mather. One-twentieth went to Mather Byles, two-fifths to Samuel Mather of Windsor, Conn., one-fifth to Eleazar of Northampton, and one-quarter to Samuel of Witney, England. Of Increase Mather's Library only three-quarters remained in Boston.

Nothing is known as to the disposition of the Library of Samuel of Witney, the third and youngest son of Increase, and the brother of Cotton.

Cotton Mather, who received the largest part of his father's Library, was born in Boston on February 12, 1662-63, graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1678, began preaching when he was eighteen years of age, and became colleague to his father, as minister of the North Church on May 13, 1685. He continued as a minister of the Church until his death on February 13, 1728. He was first married to Abigail, daughter of John Phillips of Charlestown, May 4, 1686, in the house of whose father he lived for a short time. In 1688, he bought a large brick house on Hanover Street, a little south of Prince Street, which was taken down in recent years.

Mather was a man of great learning, and the following extract from his writings will show the scope of his collection:

I am able with little study to write in seven languages. I feast myself with the sweets of all sciences, which the more polite part of mankind ordinarily pretend to. I am entertained with all kinds of histories ancient and modern. I am no stranger to the curiosities which by all sorts of learning, are brought to the curious.⁴³

Charles Chauncy (H. C., 1721) said of Mather that

There were scarcely any books written but he had some how or other got the sight of them. His own library was the largest by far of any private one on the continent.⁴⁴

Mather wrote in his Diary under date of October 28, 1683, that he had

A Library exceeding any man's, in all this Land.

John Dunton, in a letter home from "Boston in New England," March 25, 1686, said:

For having gotten a Warehouse, and my Books ready for sale, (for you know mine was a Learned Venture,) 'twas my Business next to seek out the Buyers: So I made my first Visit to . . . Increase Mather . . . And the next to him in Fame, (whom I likewise visited at the same time) is his son Mr. Cotton Mather, an Excellent Preacher, a great Writer; He has very lately finish'd the Church-History of New-England . . . After an hour spent in his company (which I took for Heaven) he shew'd me his Study: And I do think he has one of the best (for a Private Library) that I ever saw: . . . Mr. Mather's Library is the Glory of New-England, if not of all America.⁴⁵

Mather again in his Diary, October 16, 1700, records that he received from the widow of President Chauncey forty books from "the Library of our famous Old Mr. Chancey." When these were added to his Library he says that there were "already between two and three Thousand in it."⁴⁶ Several of these volumes, containing the signature of Elnathan, son of Charles Chauncy, are listed in the Mather Collection at the end of this paper.

⁴³ H. E. Mather, *Lineage of Rev. Richard Mather*, 81, 82.

⁴⁴ *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* X, 156 and 2 *Proc. XVII*, 70.

⁴⁵ *Prince Society, John Dunton's Letters*, 74, 75.

⁴⁶ 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Society*, XVII, 72.

The following entries relating to his Library appear in his Diary.

[November 21, 1702.] My Study, is tho' a large, yett a warm chamber, (the hangings whereof, are boxes with between two and three thousand Books in them;) and we are so circumstanced, that my House, tho' none of the smallest, cannot afford a safe Hospital for my sick Folks, any where so well as there. So I resigned my Study, for an Hospital for my little folks.

[February 6, 1705-06] Memorandum. I have had of late Years, no very great and strange Accessions to my Library. . . . But I will not leave unmention'd a Present of Books made me this Winter, from the united Library of our three famous, Shepards; which enriched me, not only with printed Books which very low prized, might be counted worth more than 12 lb. but also with Manuscripts of each of those three worthy men, which were vastly more valuable than all the other Books, with which their Library has furnished me.

[1706] Seldome any new Book of Consequence finds the way from beyond-Sea, to these parts of America, but I bestow the Perusal upon it. And, still as I read, I note Curiosities in my blank Books, which I entitle Quotidiana.

[February, 12 1708-09] Tho' I am furnished with a very great Library yett seeing a Library of a late Minister in the Town to be sold, and a certain Collection of Books there, which had it may be above six hundred single sermons in them; I could not forbear wishing myself made able to compass such a treasure. . . . Behold, a Gentleman, who a year ago treated me very ill; but I cheerfully forgave him! carried me home to dine with him; and upon an accidental Mention of the Library aforesaid, He to my Surprise, compelled me to accept of him a Summ of Money, which enabled me to come at what I had been desirous of.

In a letter to Thomas Prince, dated April 16, 1718, he said

Many pages would not be enough to express the Thanks I owe you, for the Long Loan of your Prideaux. . . . great Riches are added unto the Biblia Americana, by these your communications . . . [asks] if you'll favour me, by this Bearer, with the Book of Poetry, you bought the last week at your Book-sellers.⁴⁷

And again on December 11, 1718, he wrote that Prince had Whiston's "Speculation upon celestial Explosions," and that he wished to see it.

⁴⁷MSS. 61. D. 89, Mass. Hist. Society

In 1724 he wrote that his Library "the darling of my little enjoyments, is demanded from me," and in another place in the Diary that his creditors might take it from him.

The settlement of Cotton Mather's estate, after his death, which took place on February 13, 1727-28, is surrounded with some mystery. In the inventory of August 5, 1728, there is no mention of his books, and the appraisal stands at £235. 10s. 10d. with addition of land in Granville, Mass., four hundred acres valued at £36. The son Samuel's petition, with the will annexed, to be administrator, was soon withdrawn, the reasons for which action are not known.

Nathaniel Goodwin, shopkeeper, was appointed administrator on July 22, 1728; but not until after Rev. Samuel Mather, the son, and Lydia, widow of Cotton, had declined to serve, and Judge Sewall had declined to appoint Elizabeth Fyfield, "late of Boston," widow of Gyles Fyfield, as administratrix upon her petition as one of the principal creditors. On May 9, 1729, the guardians of the minor Fifield children petitioned to the Court to have added to the inventory "things of the greatest value being left out as may appear by the particular list hereto annexed"; and John Read on May 8, asked that Goodwin "show cause why the severals mentioned may not be added to ye Inventory." It is not unlikely that the "particular list" and the "severals," of which all trace has long been lost, refer to the Library which was the pride of Cotton Mather, and to the house property.

Nathaniel Goodwin answers "that he is not obliged to Inventory such things as ye intestate by Deed of Gift alienated in his lifetime" and that a gift of the father who is indebted to the son is not presumed to be made "to defeat his creditors" and "is not fraud." That the Library was saved to the son Samuel by some indirect process not now known is certain, as evidence appears in volumes later scattered by Mrs. Crocker found now in various private and public collections.

Cotton Mather often mentioned with tender interest his nephew Mather Byles, whose education for the ministry he looked after with scrupulous care. Byles was the son

of Josias and Elizabeth (Mather) Byles, and was called by Increase in his will his "fatherless grandson" when he bequeathed one-quarter of his library to the child. The pastorate of Mather Byles, in the Hollis Street Church began in 1733 and ended on account of his sympathy with the loyalists in 1776. He, however, remained in Boston until his death on July 5, 1788. Of the earlier history of his Library little is known, but during his long life he must have added many books to his grandfather's bequest. Dr. Byles's house stood on the westerly side of Tremont Street, nearly opposite to Hollis Street. On April 20, 1787, a disastrous fire occurred at the southerly end of the town destroying about eighty houses and the meeting-house. His house was "in imminent danger; his hoards of books, instruments, papers, prints, &c., &c., were dislodged in an hour from fifty years' quietness to an helter-skelter heap in an adjoining pasture. He removed for the night to a neighbour's house, and returned the next day."⁴⁸

In the inventory of his estate, made on August 2, 1790, the library consisted of 232 volumes in folio, 180 in quarto 2,394 in octavo, and 24 smaller books.⁴⁹ This collection is said to have been sold in November or at least a part of it. There are a number of volumes in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which contain the entries that Thomas Wallcut bought the volumes at the Byles sale, and in one of them "November 1790" is a part of the entry.

The home property, with presumably all of the family pictures, a part of the library, and other heirlooms remained in the possession of two daughters. After the death of Mary in 1832, Catherine lived until 1837, where by her will the personal property passed to the Almons and Desbrisays of Nova Scotia and other Byles descendants, including Sarah Louisa Byles of Burlington, New Jersey. Through Miss Byles the Mather Bible, mentioned later, a carved chair and a watch and seal of Cotton Mather came into possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁴⁸ 5 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. II, 470; 2 Proc. XIV, 65, 66.

⁴⁹ Suffolk Probate, 89, 545.

Samuel Mather, the son of Cotton Mather, who received a good part of his Library, in what way is not known, was born in Boston, October 30, 1706, was graduated at Harvard College in 1723, became colleague of Rev. Joshua Gee of the Old North Church, from 1732 to 1741, when the Church was divided by mutual agreement, and Mather and his flock built a meeting-house at the corner of Hanover and North Bennett streets, opposite the old home of his grandfather. Here he continued as minister till his death on June 27, 1785. He married Hannah, sister of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, August 23, 1733.

Abigail and John Adams in their correspondence, June 25 and July 7, 1775, wrote of the loss of the Library of Mr. Mather, who, they said, had left Boston "a day or two before Charlestown was destroyed, and had lodged his papers and what else he got out at Mr. Carey's, . . . a collection of books and manuscripts made by himself, his father, his grandfather, and his great grandfather, and was really very curious and valuable."⁵⁰

No reliable record of the loss of this so-called Library of the Mathers in connection with the adjustment of the claims for other losses has been found, and presumably none exists. Mr. James F. Hunnewell, in preparing his *History of Charlestown*, was unable to verify the report. The Library was apparently intact at the death of Samuel in 1785.

Mr. Drake, in his introduction to *Increase Mather's History of King Philip's War* (Boston, 1862) says:

Some Letters written by Samuel Mather, D. D., to his son Samuel Mather, Esq., not long before the decease of the former enable us to judge more correctly of the Value of the Mather Collection.⁵¹

In a letter, June 9, 1784, he says:

There were several Letters I had, original Letters, written by the renowned Oliver Cromwell, to my Great-grandfather, Mr. John Cotton, which I lent to your careless uncle, Mr. Hutchinson, and, as I suppose, they are irrecoverably lost and gone: I furnished him, as I suppose you know, with most of the Materials, of which his *History* was composed.

⁵⁰ *Familiar Letters*, 70-73, 75, 76.

⁵¹ *History*, xvii.

Hutchinson, in his *History*,⁵² says that the papers of Whalley and Goffe "after their death, were collected, and have remained near an hundred years in a library in Boston." Goffe's *Journal* (1660-1667), according to Ezra Stiles in his *History of the Judges*,⁵³

consisted of several pocket volumes in Goffe's own handwriting; received from the Russell family, and preserved in Dr. Cotton Mather's library in Boston, . . . the Governor obtained Goffe's manuscript, and himself shewd me, in 1766, one of these little manuscript books . . . [The *Journal*] with Goffe's other papers, in the Governor's hands, were irrecoverably lost when the Governor's house was demolished in the tumults of the Stamp Act, 1765.

Some of the letters were previously separated from the mass, and bound together by Rev. Thomas Prince, and are now in the Prince Collection at the Boston Public Library. A selection of these appears in the collections (4th series, VIII) of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Prince, in the introduction to his *Chronological History*, speaks of "A great Number of ancient Letters & other Papers which I have collected from several Libraries and particular Persons."

Drake, again in his introduction to Mather's *History of Philip's War*, cites a letter from Samuel, the tory son of Dr. Samuel Mather.

My Father's Library was by far the most valuable Part of the family Property. It consisted of 7000 or 8000 Volumes of the most curious and chosen Authors, and a prodigious Number of valuable Manuscripts, which had been collected by my Ancestors for five Generations.⁵⁴

These he considered worth at least eight thousand pounds sterling.⁵⁵

Following is an extract from Dr. Samuel Mather's will:

It is my Will, that my Library should abide where it now is; and be reserved, untill one of my Descendants shall be found inclined to the Ministry and settled in it, and then I would have my Library given to him with all the Manuscripts and

⁵² 1 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VII, 280.

⁵³ pp. 21-24, 29.†

⁵⁴ p. xxiii.

⁵⁵ *Prince Soc. John Dunton*, 75n.

Appurtenances belonging to it. Only I would have the French Authors in my Library excepted, and reserved for my Son and given to him, when there is an opportunity for it: And if there be any particular Book or Books, which one or other of my dear Daughters would chuse, she may take it or them as she pleases. And until a Minister of the Gospel shall appear of my Family; I will that my Children should have the free use of my Library, keeping the Books in good Order; and after using them, returning them, and keeping them in their usual places.⁵⁶

These items appear as a part of the inventory of October 29, 1785:

His Library, including Books Manuscripts & Boxes
containing the same &c. £44.10
17 Family Pictures 6s 8 small Pictures 4s.
one Jack with Spit 12s.
Mansion House and Land situate near North Square
appraised at £450.⁵⁷

By the will, the daughters Elizabeth (died 1788) and Hannah, who married Joseph Crocker, were to care for the estate, improve the Library, and receive the profits, and if the son Samuel should return from England, the "Mansion House" was to be surrendered to him. The executors of his will were Joseph and Allen Crocker.

Allen Crocker, in his will, bequeathed to Hannah (Mather) Crocker

"My dwelling house with the land and appurtenances at the northerly part of Boston, formerly the property of the Reverend Doctor Mather deceased, I give devise and bequeath to Hannah Crocker, widow of my late brother Joseph deceased for and during the term of her natural life, and upon her decease I give and devise the same to her daughter Hannah M. Parker in fee, she the said Hannah M. Parker paying to her brother Samuel M. Crocker after her said Mother's decease One hundred Dollars during his life."⁵⁸

The Inventory, March 13, 1826, gave the value of land and house as \$3,500 and the number of books 298.

The Massachusetts Historical Society received a part of Dr. Mather's Library. On December 20, 1794, it was

⁵⁶ Suffolk Probate, 84. 453.

⁵⁷ Suffolk Probate, 84. 662.

⁵⁸ Suffolk Probate, 124, 1. 5, 6.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be given to Dr. Mather's executors for the books deposited with the Society, and that the books be kept by themselves and returned when demanded.⁶⁹

On June 20, 1798, Mrs. Crocker gave the oil painting of Increase Mather, by Vanderspriet.

Another vote appears on the records. On April 25, 1822, it was

Voted That a set of the Collections, commencing with the second series, be presented to Mrs. Hannah Crocker, to be continued during her life, it being in consideration of her having deposited with the Society a valuable portion of the Mather Library.⁶⁰

It will be seen by the entries in the list given below that a number of volumes came from the Mather Library through Mrs. Crocker, both before and after the gift of the supposed remnant to the Antiquarian Society. The part within brackets gives the signatures and name of the donor.

MATHER BOOKS

IN THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ALSTEDIO, JOHAN-HENRICO. Pastor Conformatus ab Henrico Bullingero. Francofurt, 1613. [Increase Mather, 1655; probably given to the Society by Mrs. Crocker, about 1822.]

APOLLONII GULIELMO. Consideratio Quarundam. . . . Londini, 1644. [Increase Mather, 5s; William Jenks, 1814.]

Articles agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops. . . . 1562. London, 1628; and other tracts. [Increase Mather, London, 1691; given by Redford Webster.]

ASGILL, JOHN. A Collection of Tracts. London, 1715. ["M Byles," in hand of Increase Mather(?); Thomas Wallcut, bought at "sale of Dr. Byles"; given by Mr. Wallcut, December 26, 1834.]

BAYLE, PIERRE. Nouvelles de la Republique. Amsterdam, 1686. [Samuel Mather, 1745.]

BAYNES, PAUL. The Diocesans Tryall, 1621. [Richard Mather.]

BERKELEY, GEORGE. The Theory of Vision. [M. Byles; "probably given by T. Wallcut."]

Bible, Genevan Version. [Copy known as the "Breeches Bible," 1599, given to Mrs. Maria Mather, wife of Rev.

⁶⁹ 1 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., I, 78; ⁶⁰ 342.

Increase, by her father Rev. John Cotton. It contains the entry of their marriage and the record of the births of their children; given by Mather to his daughter Jerusha, and later it passed into the hands of Elizabeth, another daughter, who married Josias Byles, then to their son Rev. Mather Byles, then to his son Rev. Mather Byles, Jr., afterward to his son Belcher, from whom it descended to his daughter Miss Sarah Louisa Byles, who in 1881 gave the volume to the Society.⁶¹

BOND, S. A Publick Tryal of the Quakers in Bermudas. Boston, 1682. [Increase Mather.]

BROUGHTON, HUGH. An Advertisement of Corruption . . . 1605. [Richard Mather.]

Broughton, Hugh. A concert of Scripture.
[Increase Mather; T. Wallcut bought of Mr. McDonald; given by Wallcut.]

BURGESS, ANTHONY. True Doctrine of Justification. . . . London, 1648. [Richard Mather; Samuel Mather, 1724.]

BURGESS, DANIEL. Forty Aphorisms concerning Riches. London, 1696. ["Cotton Mather," Authori Donum.]

BURNETT, W. An Essay on Scripture-Prophecy, . . . 1724 [Cotton and Samuel Mather.]

C., H. The Plain Englishman's Historian. . . London, 1679. [Edmund Jones, 1702; name "M Byles" by Increase Mather.]

CALEF, ROBERT. More Wonders of the Invisible World, London, 1700. [On the cover, opposite the title, Cotton Mather wrote "Job XXXI. 35, 36. My desire is that mine Adversary had written a Book. Surely I would take it upon my Shoulder, and bind it as a crown to me. Co: Mather" It is said by Eliot that "copies were burnt in the college-yard by order of Increase Mather, the president."]⁶²

CLAPHAM, JONATHAN. A Full Discovery and Confutation of the . . . Quakers. London, 1656. [Mather Byles; bought of Mr. McDonald by Thomas Wallcut.]

COLLECTANEA CHYMICA: A Collection of Ten Several Treatises in Chymistry. [By W. Cooper.] London, 1684. ["S. Matheri"]

COTTON, JOHN. A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace. London, 1671. [Mather Byles; Thomas Walcutt, who gave it in 1792.]

CRAGHEAD, ROBERT. An Answer to a late Book Edinburgh, 1694. [Cotton Mather.]

A Declaration of the Parliament . . . London, 1652.
[Richard Mather.]

A Display of Tyranny. London, 1689. [Increase Mather, London, Feb. 29, 1689; the name of Mather Byles in I.

⁶¹ 1 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. XVIII, 363, 364.

⁶² 1 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., III, 288.

- Mather's hand(?); signature of A. Wylls, November 11, 1790, price 3 / 4; given by T. M. Harris.]
- K. EDWARD the VIth. His Own Arguments against the Pope's Supremacy. London, 1682. [Increase Mather, London, 1688.]
- HAKLUYT, RICHARD. Principal Navigations. London, 1599. [Bought at the sale of Dr. Byles's Library, November, 1790.]
- HARWARD, THOMAS. Electurarium Novum Alexipharmacum. Or, A new Cordial, Boston, 1732. ["Given by Dr Harward to S. Mather."]
- HATTON. E. A New Treatise of Geography. London, 1732. [M. Byles; T. Wallcut, bought of Mr. McDonald.]
- HOOKE, THOMAS. A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline. ["Johannes Cottonus ejus Liber, ex dono fratris clarissimi magistri Crescentii Matheri: June 1664"; Increase Mather; M. Byles (I. Mather's hand?); Daniel Greenleaf; John Cotton, 1673, Rowland Cotton, 1689; bought of Mr. McDonald, by T. Wallcut at the sale of Dr. Byles's Books; given by Wallcut April 9, 1791.]
- HORNUS, GEORGIUS. De Originibus Americanis Libri Quatuor. Hagæ Comitum, 1652. [Increase Mather, 1677; William Jenks, 1814.]
- HOWEL, WILLIAM. An Institution of General History. London, 1680. [Cotton Mather; Samuel Mather, 1720; John Richards; probably given by Mrs. Crocker.]
- [JACOB JOSEPH] Covenant and Catechism of the Church of Christ, meeting at Horsly-Down in Southwark. London, 1700. [Gift of author to Cotton Mather, 1700; Mather Byles; Jeremy Belknap who gave it in 1791.]
- JAMESON, WILLIAM. The Sum of the Episcopal Controversy Glasgow, 1713. [C Mather Insignissimi Authori Donum;] S. Mather, 1723; McKean; given by W. P. Upham, May 15, 1900.]
- JENKYN, WILLIAM. A Shock of Corn. London, 1654. [Cotton Mather, and Samuel Mather.]
- JOHNSON, FRANCIS. A Christian Plea. 1617. [Samuel Mather, 1758; William Jenks who gave it in 1822.]
- KENNETT, WHITE. Bibliothecæ Americanæ Primordia. London, 1713. [Cotton Mather; "Donum Dummerarium"; from Mrs. Crocker, in possession of the Historical Society before 1812, when it was first lent to Mr. Thomas; lent to him again in July, 1816, and not returned by the Antiquarian Society until January, 1836, when the Historical Society had proved its "property therein." It was supposed by Mr. Thomas to have been owned by Mrs. Crocker, and to be included in his purchase from her; "Value \$2."⁶³

⁶³ 1 Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc. I. 438, II. 26.

- A Letter from Major General Ludlow. Amsterdam, 1691; and other tracts. [Writing of Increase Mather; Samuel Mather, 1721.]
- LICETUS, FORTUNIVS. Fortunius Licetas de Monstris. Amstelodami, 1665. ["Matheri Bylesii Liber 1721".]
- MANTON, THOMAS. The Blessed Estate . . . London, 1656. [Mather Byles, in hand of I. Mather(?); T. Wallcut, bought at the sale of the Library of Dr. Byles; given by Wallcut, December 26, 1834.]
- [MATHER, COTTON.] M. DC. LXXXIII. The Boston Ephe-
meris. An Almanack. Boston 1683. [Cotton Mather.]
- MAYNWARING, ARTHUR. The Posthumous Works of. London, 1715. [M. Byles in Increase Mather's hand(?)]
- MEADE, MATTHEW. EN OAITΩ XPIZTIANOΣ: The Almost Christian Discovered: . . . London, 1671. [Increase Mather; given by John Tilestone, October 28, 1794.]
- MONTANUS. Liber Generationis et regenerationis Adam. 1593. [Cotton Mather; Samuel Mather, 1739.]
- [MORE, HENRY.] Divine Dialogues. London, 1668. [Mather Byles, in I. Mather's hand; author's name in C. Mather's writing; given by Thomas Wallcut, November 28, 1790.]
- N., J. St. The History of Baptism. London, 1678. [M. Byles in I. Mather's hand(?); T. Wallcut, bought of Mr. McDonald; given by T. W., December 26, 1834.]
- NEWCOMEN, MATHEW. The Craft and Cruelty of the Churches Adversaries, London, 1643. [Richard Mather.]
- NORTON, JOHN. Responsio . . . London, 1648. [of Increase Mather; of Samuel Mather, 1732; and of William Jenks, who gave it in 1822.]
- Novem Testamentum . . . Interpreta Theodoro Beza. London, 1659. [Mather Byles; Benjamin Colman; Silvester Crosse.]
- NYE, PHILIP. A Sermon . . . London, 1659. London, 1661. [Cotton Mather.]
- PARKER, SAMUEL. Reproof to the Rehearsal Transposed . . . London, 1673. [Mather Byles; Thomas Wallcut, who gave it in 1834.]
- Plaine English . . . 1643. [Richard Mather.]
- PLUTARCHS MORALS, II. V. London, 1690. [Samuel Mather; given by S. Abbott Lawrence, 1850.]
- POTTER, FRANCIS. An Interpretation of the Number 666. Oxford, 1642. [Increase Mather, M. Byles; T. Wallcut bought of Mr. McDonald, given by Wallcut, 1834; Thomas Harvard.]
- PRIDEAUX, JOHN. Concio Habita Oxoniæ . . . 1626. Oxoniae, 1626. [Increase Mather, 1681.]
- PURCHAS his Pilgrimage. London, 1617. [Bought at the sale of Dr. Byles's Library, November, 1790.]

- SOROCOLD, THOMAS. *Supplications of Saints*. London, 1662. [M. Byles in I. Mather's hand; Alexander Wyllys, November 11, 1790, price 1s. 8., bought at the "Vendue of Dr. Byles' Library"; signature of John Phillips.]
- VERHEIDEN, JACOBUS. *Præstantium aliquot Theologorum*, . . . Hagæ-Comitis, 1602. [Cotton Mather, 1683; Thomas Wallcut who bought it at the Byles sale, November, 1790, and gave it in 1834.]
- WATERS, JASPER. *A Vindication of the Doctrine of* . . . Christ. London, 1733. ["B. Colman 1735 from the Rev^d Dr. Guise of London"; Mather Byles.]
- WINSLOW, EDWARD. *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* . . . London, 1649. ["Liber Richardi Mather: ex dono Dom. Eliot"; owned by Jeremy Belknap; given to the Society by his granddaughter Elizabeth Belknap in 1858.]

MATHER BOOKS IN OTHER LIBRARIES.⁶⁴

- ADAM, MELCHIOR. *Vitæ German Theologorum*. . . Haidelbergæ, 1620. [Richard Mather; Samuel Mather; Brinley copy, 1330; in American Antiquarian Society.]
- AINSWORTH, HENRY. *Animadversion*. . . Amsterdam, 1613. ["Crescentii" Matheri Liberi ex dono Thomæ Scherman-dini, Londini, 1691," Brinley copy, 509; in American Anti-quarian Society.]
- Ainsworth, Henry. *Annotations upon the first Book of Moses called Genesis* . . . 1621, etc. ["Richard Mather"; "Given by M^r. Samuel Mather to Wenham Parochial Library Anno 1728." In Congregational Library.]
- Ainsworth, Henry. *On fourth book of Moses called Num-bers*, . . . 1619, etc. ["Richard Mather"; "Given by M^r. Samuel Mather to Wenham Parochial Library Anno 1728." In Congregational Library.]
- אִנְשְׁוֹרְת' סֵפֶר sive Anthonii Grelleti *Prodromus in D. Joannis Apocalypsin*. Lugduni Batavorum, 1675. [Increase Mather, January 5, 1690-91, London; S. Mather, 1754; given by Charles Eliot Norton, May 4, 1905, to Harvard College Library.]
- AMES, WILLIAM. *Coronis ad Collationem Hagiensem*. 1618. ["Increase Mather"; in Yale University Library.]

⁶⁴ There are many volumes and pamphlets in the library of the American Antiquarian Society beside those here noted, which belong to the Mather collection. They are not included in the gift of Isaiah Thomas, listed at the end of this paper; but the titles may be given at some future time.

The titles of Mather books given in this paper are such as have come easily within the reach of the writer. Others will come to light from time to time, to give a more comprehensive view of the Mather Libraries.

- BAGSHAW, EDWARD. *Doctrine of the Kingdom*
London, 1669. [Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 520; sold to J. F. Hunnewell.]
- Bible, and Booke of Psalmes. London, 1599. [given to Eliakim Mather Olcott June, 1816, by his grandfather Eliakim, Mather, born 1755, son of Samuel Mather of Windsor, grandson of Richard; in Connecticut State Library, which Mr. George S. Godard, State Librarian secured from a descendant in Windsor a few years ago.]
- Bible, Greek testament. [Mr. Frank B. Gay of Hartford, writes: "Many years ago the late Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull showed me a Greek Testament belonging to him, which as I recollect had the autograph of some Mather, and was the book used by the painter of Increase Mather's portrait in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society."]
- Bible, French. [Given by Queen Anne to the French Protestant Church in School Street, Boston, bought at the sale of the Mather Byles Library in 1790, by Samuel Cobb, and given by his widow to the Library of the Harvard Divinity School in 1831.]⁶⁵
- Biblia Sacra Polyglotta (London, 1657). 6 vols. ["Nathanielis Matheri Liber Martii 23d 1683"; "In the year 1724, I bought this with all the following volumes and the Castelli Lexicon, of Mr. Samuel Gerrish, Bookseller of Boston, for thirty Pounds, who had bought them of Dr. Cotton Mather, who had a Duplicate of them; and I paid said Gerrish thirty Pounds for them: as witness my hand Thomas Prince"; "Purchased by said Prince, with monies He collected from several gentlemen of said Church; book plates of "South Church Library" and of N. Mather; in Boston Public Library.]
- Novum Testamentum Græcum. Antwerp, 1584. ["I. M." stamped in gilt on the leather cover; "Matheri Byles Liber"; "M. B. Desbrisay Reg Coll." Nova Scotia; A.B. Valentine, April 26, 1875, given to Harvard College Library.]
- BULLINGER. *Sermonum Decades* . . . Tomi III. London, 1584. [Increase Mather; Samuel Mather, 1720; Brinley copy, 1331; in American Antiquarian Society.]
- BUXTORFII, J. *Institutio Epistolaris Hebraica*, . . . Basileæ, 1610. [Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 1332; in Boston Public Library.]
- Buxtorfii, J. *Exercitationes ad Historiam*, . . . Basileæ, 1659. [Cotton Mather, 1683; Brinley copy, 1333; in American Antiquarian Society.]
- COOPER, T. *Thesaurus Romanæ et Britannicæ*. [1565-1584?] [Volume given to the Dorchester School by Richard Mather,

⁶⁵ Mem. Hist. of Boston, II. 254.

- which contained the "names of so many teachers who have kept the school on the Meeting-House Hill." This book described in the History of Dorchester (pp. 259, 477) was in existence in 1859, but its present whereabouts is not known.
- DAILLE, JOHN. XLIX Sermons upon the whole Epistle of the Apostle St. Paul to the Colossians. London, 1672. [Increase Mather; Samuel Mather; Brinley copy, 1334; in Boston Public Library.]
- ERASMUS, MORIÆ Encomium, . . . Oxoniæ, 1668. [Cotton Mather, 1678; Samuel Mather; Brinley copy, 1281; in Lenox Library.]
- FENNER, WILLIAM. Works. 1657. [Increase Mather, 1660, price 20 shillings; Mather Byles; given to the Boston Public Library, by Richard C. Humphreys.]
- FITCH, JAMES. Explanation . . . Boston, 1683. [Increase Mather; Mather Byles; Brinley copy, 769; in Yale Library.]
- Fitch, James. First Principles. . . Boston, 1679. [Increase Mather; Mather Byles; Brinley copy 768; in Watkinson Library, Hartford, Conn.]
- FRANZIO, WOLFGANGO. Tractatus Theologicus. Wittebergæ, 1619. [Cotton Mather, 1681; Samuel Mather, 1761.]
- GOODWIN, THOMAS. World to Come; . . . [and Sermon.] London, 1654. [Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 1335; in American Antiquarian Society.]
- GROTH, H., et aliorum . . . Amsterdam, 1645. [Increase Mather, and Samuel Mather, 1727. Copy in Church Library.
- Herodiani Historiæ . . . London, 1639. [Cotton Mather; Brinley copy, 1337; in American Antiquarian Society.]
- HOKE, WILLIAM. Discourse concerning the Witnesses . . . London, 1679; and other tracts, in one volume. [Manuscript table of contents by Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 587; sold to Lenox Library.]
- HOTTINGER, J. H. Analecta Historico-Theologica . . . Tiguri, 1652. [Increase and Samuel Mather; Brinley copy, 1338.]
- Humble Advice of the Assembly, Westminster, 1647, and sixteen other tracts, 1643-1663. [Manuscript table of contents by Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 1345; in Yale University Library.]
- JAMESON, WILLIAM. Sum of the Episcopal Controversy. ["Cotton Mather"; in Yale University Library.]
- KECKERMANN, BARTH. Systema Logicæ ["Increase Mather"; in Yale University Library.]
- LACTANTIUS, L. C. F. Divinatum Institutionum, Libri VII, Basileæ, 1521. [Increase and Samuel Mather; Brinley copy. 1339; in American Antiquarian Society.]
- LEE, SAMUEL. Antichristi Excidium. London, 1664. [Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 606; sold to Library of Congress.]

- LEIGH, EDWARD. *Systeme or Body of Divinity*. 2d Edition, London, 1662. [Increase Mather, and marginal notes; Cotton and Samuel Mather; Brinley copy, 1340; in American Antiquarian Society.]
- LICETUS, FORTUNIUS. *Fortunius Licetas de Monstris*. Amstelodami, 1665. ["Matheri Bylesii Liber 1721".]
- MARDOCHAI, NATHAN. *Concordantiarum Hebraicarum*. . . . Basileæ, 1556. [Increase Mather, London, 1691; Brinley copy, 1341; in American Antiquarian Society.]
- MATHER, COTTON. *Bonifacius*. ["Cotton Mather"; in Yale University Library.]
- Mather, Cotton. *India Christiana*. ["Cotton Mather"; in Yale University Library.]
- Mather, Cotton. *Ratio Disciplinæ*. ["Cotton Mather"; in Yale University Library.]
- Mather, Cotton. *Zalmonah*. ["Cotton Mather"; in Yale University Library.]
- MATHER, INCREASE. *Brief Account*, 1691. ["Increase Mather, London, Nov. 16, 1691"; Brinley copy 944; in John Carter Brown Library.]
- Mather, Increase. *Diatriba*. . . . Amsterdam, 1682. [Cotton Mather; Benjamin Pierpont; Ezra Stiles, 1791; Abiel Holmes; Brinley copy, 960; in Library of Congress.]
- Mather, Increase. *Necessity of Reformation*, Synod at Boston, September 10, 1679. Boston, 1679. [Increase Mather; in the Norton Collection, Harvard College Library.]
- MATHER, RICHARD and W. TOMPSON. *Heart Melting Exhortation*, 1650. [Increase Mather, bought, London, May 23, 1689; Brinley copy, 933; in Yale University Library.]
- MATHER, RICHARD, SAMUEL and INCREASE. *Sermons*, 1657-1681, fourteen in all, bound in pigskin, with the initials "S. M." stamped on the leather inside and Samuel Mather's signature on many of the tracts. On the titlepage of the first, "Farewell Exhortation" is written "Samuel Mather His Book 1684"; on the second "Testimony" on 2 Kings 18. 4, "Samuel Mather . . . 1682," and on the fifth "A Brief History," 1626 by Increase, "ex dono patris," 1682. Copy in Church Library, Brooklyn, N. Y.,⁶⁶ the Kalbfleisch-Lefferts copy.
- MATHER, SAMUEL. *Figures or Types*, 1683. ["For Mr. Cotton Mather at Boston in New England." On the second fly-leaf is fastened by wafers, undoubtedly by Cotton Mather himself a letter written by Samuel Mather, at the age of twelve years, to his father Richard, dated at "Camb., May 15, 1638." A good part of the letter is printed in the Mag-

⁶⁶ Church Catalogue, 1257, 1258.

- nalía, II. 40. He says the beginning, "I want not many outward comforts for ye present; only yt weh I want most is something to put my bookes and cloathes in. . . ." The volume contains the signatures of Cotton Mather, of Mather Green, the son of his sister Maria (Mather), of Bartholomew Green, and of John Scollay. It is owned by Mr. Frederick L. Gay of Brookline, who has kindly lent the volume to me.
- MAYHEW, EXPERIENCE. *Indian Converts* . . . London, 1727. [Samuel Mather; Brinley copy, 1342; in American Antiquarian Society.]
- MEDE, JOSEPH. *Works*. London, 1664. [Increase Mather, price 1 pound 10 shillings, London; Mather Byles; in Boston Public Library.]
- OWEN JOHN. *Of the Divine Originall* . . . Oxford, 1659. [Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 1343; in Boston Public Library.]
- Owen, John. *Church of Rome, and seven other Tracts, 1665-1681*. [Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 1346.]
- PETER, HUGH. *Sermon, 1660*; S. Marshall, *Threnodia, 1644*; J. Boyse and N. Weld, *Two Sermons, 1695*; C. Love, *Englands Distemper, 1651*; J. Shower, *Fun, Sermon for N. Taylor, 1702*, T. Goodwin, *Sermon, William III, 1702*; bound in volume. [Samuel of Dublin, Nathaniel, and Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 634; bought by the Antiquarian Society.]
- PHILIPOT, JOHN. *New Systeme of the Apocalypse*. ["Cotton Mather"; in Yale University Library.]
- Platonis *Gnomologia Græco-Latina*. Colon. 1613. [Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 1344; in Boston Public Library.]
- PYNCHON, WILLIAM. *Meritorious Price of our Redemption*, London, 1650. [Increase Mather; Cotton Mather; Brinley copy, 644; sold to F. W. Morris, New York.]
- The *Whole Booke of Psalmes* . . . Cambridge, 1640. "Richard Mather His Booke," Cotton Mather, Thomas Prince, and book-plate of the New England Library; book passed by exchange to N. B. Shurtleff, whose heirs sold it by auction, October 12, 1876, to the late C. Fiske Harris for \$1,025, after whose death in October, 1881, it was bought by the John Carter Brown Library.]⁶⁷
- Rights of the Kingdom* . . . Touching . . . Kings and Parliaments. London, 1682. ["Cotton Mather"; bought by Dr. Jenks "at the sale of Samuel Mather's Library, who was grandson of Cotton Mather"; received by "Jno. Pickering in 1813 in exchange from Dr. Jenks; bought by Burnham in 1846 at J. Pickering's sale; bought later by W. H. Whitmore who gave it in 1867 to the Boston Public Library.]

⁶⁷ Catalogue, II, 201, 202.

- RIVET, ANDRÉ. *Critici Sacri Specimen* . . . Dordrecht, 1619. [Increase Mather; Samuel Mather, 1723; Brinley copy, 1344; in Boston Public Library.]
- SHEPARD, THOMAS, and JOHN ELIOT. *Sampwutteahe* . . . Cambridge, 1689. [Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 803; in John Carter Brown Library.]
- Survey of the Booke of Common Prayer . . . [Second edition.] 1610. [Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 673; sold to W. H. Kemp, New York.]
- THOMPSON, W. *Casuistical Morning Exercises*, Vol. IV, 1690. ["Increase Mather"; in Yale University Library.]
- UDALL, JOHN. *Key of the Holy Tongue* . . . Leyden, 1593. [William Stoughton; Increase Mather; Brinley copy, 1347; in Lenox Library.]
- USHER, J. *Annales Vet. Testamenti*. Londini, 1650. [Increase Mather; Samuel Mather, 1723; Brinley copy, 1348; in American Antiquarian Society.]
- WEBSTER, JOHN. *The Displaying of supposed Witchcraft* . . . London, 1677. ["I. Mather, London, 1691," and notes by him; Charles Lowell, 1813, James Russell Lowell, Elmwood, 1845; given to Harvard College Library, by Mr. Lowell, June 10, 1890.]

In addition to the so-called "remains" of the Mather Libraries, there are other volumes and manuscripts once belonging to them given to the Antiquarian Society which were once a part of these Libraries. Christopher Columbus Baldwin, Librarian, says in his Diary under date of October 25, 1831, that in company with Joseph Willard and Isaac Goodwin he made a visit to the "house occupied by Increase Cotton and Sam. Mather to see if there might not be found some of his papers in the garret," by accident; and it was discovered that the ceiling was completely filled with old papers which "nobody could read." These papers were given to him.

Again, Mr. Baldwin, in his Diary, June 20 to August 8, 1834, writes of the gift by Thomas Wallcut of his Library to the Antiquarian Society. He spent several days in putting the books "in order for transporting to Worcester." He finished packing on August 7, and found their weight to be "forty-four hundred and seventy-six pounds." His conjecture as to the number of pamphlets in the gift was "ten thousand of them at least." He describes his visit

also to Wallcut's nephew, Robert Folger Wallcut, whose collection of about fifteen hundred volumes of books had been given him by his uncle, and his selection at the request of the nephew of "volumes enough to fill a hand cart, which I laid by and brought them away." On a visit to the uncle on August 7, he found a "volume of pamphlets [London, 1619-1665, with list by Increase Mather] by our early New England clergy, containing a thousand pages, 4to., neatly bound in calf, with C. M. upon the outside cover (Crescentius Matherus)." This donation from Robert F. and Thomas Wallcut contained some volumes which were once a part of the old Mather Library.

Of the scattering of the larger part of the Mather Libraries which came into the possession of Rev. Samuel Mather, the last minister in his line of the family, and which were kept by Mrs. Crocker, his daughter, for more than twenty-five years, little is known. Many of the volumes undoubtedly passed into private hands, both before and after the death of her brother Samuel, in 1813. Tradition reports that for many years she gave away books to persons who were interested to own them. Thomas Wallcut, a collector of books, came into possession of many Mather volumes, either by gift or purchase from Mrs. Crocker, and a number of these will be found in both the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society and of the Antiquarian Society. Other books have come to light which passed through the hands of both William Jenks and Abiel Holmes. The Wallcut gifts to both Societies were made in 1834.

A brief list follows of the various gifts to the Antiquarian Society by Mrs. Crocker and Mr. Thomas:

Dr. Wilkinson's Sermons . . . 11 Vols. purchased in London, by Dr. Increase Mather for £10. [1814.]

Family Arms, formerly owned by Cotton Mather. [Feb. 7, 1814.]

Whetstone used by Increase to whet the knife he used to make his pens; by Cotton when he wrote his *Magnalia*; by Samuel when he wrote the *Life of his Father*; and by Mrs. Crocker. [Feb. 1, 1814.]

Tobacco box, given by Sir Walter Raleigh to William Phips, Governor, who in turn gave it to Increase Mather. [Feb. 2, 1814.]

Table for finding by Cycle of ☉, ☾, and Indiction, the year of the Julian period, with more certainty, ease and expedition than in any other way hitherto known, with a letter from the Author, John Sherman, of Watertown, June 19, 1683 to Cotton Mather. [June 20, 1814.]

Oil paintings of Richard, Increase, Cotton, and Samuel Mather of Boston, and Rev. Samuel Mather, of Dublin. [Oct. 14, 1814.]

Small high chair,⁶⁸ used by Richard Mather, when a child. [Oct. 14, 1814.]

"Part of the remains of the ancient Library" belonging to Increase, Cotton, and Samuel Mather, value three hundred dollars. [Dec. 14, 1814.]

The "Other Part of the Remains" of the Mather Libraries, Value five hundred dollars, given to the Society by Isaiah Thomas. "The whole of the Remains now presented to the Society by Mrs. Crocker and Mr. Thomas consists of about 900 volumes." [Dec. 14, 1814.]

"Purchased the Remains of the Old Library of the Mathers" . . . between 600 and 700 Vols. Worked hard all day with Lawrence and other assistance in packing and removing it." [Diary of Isaiah Thomas, Nov. 11, 1814.]

Nine hundred manuscript sermons, written and preached by the Mathers, with other manuscript books and papers. [Dec. 14, 1814.]

Twenty-five volumes of tracts, probably bound up in 1813, as Vol. II, contains a tract with the manuscript signature. "Timo. Kennard's-1812." [Feb. 1, 1815.]

Eight sermons of J. Cotton, "& other things." [Oct. 12, 1815.] Life of John Bunce [Thomas Amory], London, 1770. [Aug. 12, 1828.]

The Mather Library in the Antiquarian Society's collection, including the gifts just mentioned, works of the distinguished members of the family, their manuscripts and family relics, much of which entered into the foundation of the Antiquarian Library, will remain a monument to the intellectual activity of colonial and provincial days. A list of shortened titles of that part given by Isaiah Thomas, with a reference to manuscript entries wherever found is given below.⁶⁹

⁶⁸N. E. H. G. Reg. 47. 340, 365.

⁶⁹This list of titles, made by Mr. Thomas, has been prepared for publication by Miss Frances B. Boone of the American Antiquarian Society's Library, who has carefully added the notes found in manuscript in the various volumes.

“Catalogue of Dr. Cotton Mather’s Library purchased by Isaiah Thomas and given by him to the American Antiquarian Society.”

A

[Account of the Conspiracy to depose K. William and Q. Mary, London, 1691. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]

Account of the Familists, Independants, Adamites, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, Antitrinitarians, Antisabbarians, Jesuits and Traskites.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 2.]

[Account of the irregular Actions of the Papists.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.]

Account of the Progress of Reformation of Manners in England and Ireland. 4ed., London, 1701. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 20.]

Account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. London, 1739. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.]

Act of Parliament, for making more Effectual the Laws appointing the Oaths for Security of the Government. Edinburgh, 1719. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 6.]

Act of Tonnage and Poundage and Book of Rates. London, 1675. 0.17. Inscribed “Roland Cotton His Book 1736”; “Jahleel Brinton.”

ADAMS, ELIPHALET. Discourse putting Christians in Mind to be Ready to Every Good Work. Boston, 1706. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 2.]

[Address to the Archbishops and Bishops commissioned to treat about the Alteration of the Book of Common Prayer.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]

Advantages of the present Settlement of [affairs of the Nation] and the Danger of a Relapse. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]

AINSWORTH, HENRY. Communion of Saints. London, 1641. 0.40. Autograph of “Crescentius Matherus.”

Ainsworth, Henry. Defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship, and Ministerie. Amsterdam, 1609. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 11.] Inscribed “I Mather”; “S. Mather’s 1741.”

AINSWORTH, WILLIAM. Medulla Bibliorum, the Marrow of the Bible. London, 1652. 0.50. Inscribed “Matheri.”

ALARD, LAMBERT. Pathologia Sacra Novi Testamenti. Lipsiæ, 1635. 0.34. Inscribed “S. Matheri, 1701.”

ALEXANDER ab ALEXANDRO. Jurisperiti Neapolitani Genialium Dierum. Frankfort, 1626. 0.50. Inscribed “S. Matheri, 1750”; “James: Hanna Scotus.”

ALLEN, THOMAS. Way of the Spirit in bringing Souls to Christ. London, 1676. 0.32.

ALSTEDIUS, JOHANN-HEINRICH. Compendium Lexici Philosophici. Herbornæ, 1626. 0.50.

Alstedius, Johann-Heinrich. Metaphysica. [t. p. mut.] 0.20. Inscribed “Matheri.”

Alstedius, Johann-Heinrich. Methodus SS. Theologiæ. Hanover, 1619. 0.25 Inscribed “Cottoni Matheri Liber 1682.”

- Alstedius, Johann-Heinrich. *Mille annis Apocalypticis*. Frankfort, 1627. 0.34. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus, ex dono Chariss. Fratris. N. Matherus 6h. Mo. 1672."
- Alstedius, Johann-Heinrich. *Physica Harmonica*. Herbornæ Nassoviorum, 1616. 0.34. Inscribed "S. Matheri."
- Alstedius, Johann-Heinrich. *Turris Babel Destructa*. Herbornæ Nassoviorum, 1639. 0.75. Inscribed "Nat. Vincent"; "Mather"; "pret: 2s-[?]d."
- ALTHAMER, ANDREAS. *Conciliationes Locorum Scripturæ*. Wittemberg, 1582. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherius Caelus non solus"; "S. Matheri."
- ALTHUSEN, JAN. *Politica Methodicè digesta atque exemplis sacris and profanis illustrata*. 4ed. Herbornæ, 1625. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "S. Matheri 1735"; with notes in S. Mather's hand.
- AMES, WILLIAM. *De Conscientia et ejus Jure*. Amsterdam, 1670. 0.30.
- Ames, William. *Disceptatio Scholastica de Circulo Pontificio*. Amsterdam, 1644. [Bound with his *Rescriptio Scholastica*, 1645.] Inscribed in C. Mather's hand "Theses de Tra. ductione peccatoris ad vitam."
- Ames, William. *Rescriptio Scholastica ad Nic. Grevinchovii. Hardervici*, 1645. Autograph of "Cottonus Mather."
- Ames, William. *Technometria*. Cambridge, 1646. 0.34. Inscribed "Cotton Matheri 1681."
- Ames, William. [Theologiæ.] [t. p. w.] 0.20. Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Book. Perlegi S. Mather."
- Anatomy of the Service Book. By Dwalphintramis. [n. p., n. d.] [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.]
- ANGELUS, THOMAS. *Institutionum Peripateticarum*. 2ed., London, 1647. 0.34.
- Animadversions on a Treatise intituled Fiat Lux*. By a Protestant. London, 1662. 0.50.
- ANJOU, Duke of. *Duke of Anjou's Succession consider'd*. Part II, London, 1701. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 23.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- Another part of the Mystery of Jesuitism; or the new Heresie of the Jesuits. London, 1664. 1.34.
- Antichristi Excidium. London, 1664. [Bd. with Mornay, *De Veritate*, 1632.] Autograph of "Samuelis Mather."
- Anti-Sozzo, sive Sherlocismus Enervatus. London, 1675. 0.75. Inscribed "Mather."
- Apollonius, Gulielmus. *Jus Majestatis Circa Sacra*. Medioburgi, Zeland, 1642-3. 2v. in 1. 1.00.
- Apologie or Defence of Such true Christians, as are commonly called Brownists. [n. p.], 1604. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 11.] Inscribed "Richard Mather." "0. 2. 0."
- Apology for R. Stafford, wherein the Nature of the English Monarchy is Explained. London, 1690. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]

- APTHONIUS, SOPHISTA. *Progymnasmatia*. London, 1611. [t. p. mut.] 0.25. Inscribed "John Eliot his Booke"; "John Oliver"; "S. Matheri, 1761." "Rich: Carter"; "Walter Carter"; Jonathan Ting his book"; "Recompence Tinge"; "Peter Tinge."
- ARCANA Dogmatum Anti-Remonstrantium. Or the Calvinists Cabinet unlock'd. London, 1659. 0.50.
- ARISTOTLE, *De Anima*. Libri Tres. Hanover, 1611. [t. p. mut.] 0.50.
- ARMACHANUS, JACOBUS USSERUS. *De Græca Septuaginta, uterpretum versione Syntagma*. London, 1655. [Bd. with St. Polycarp, ad Phillippenses, 1653.]
- ARNDTIUS, JOANNES. *De Vero Christianismo*. 2 Vols. London, 1708. 2.00. Inscribed, Vol. 1, "Matheri"; "Clariss. D. Boemi (Translatoris,) Donum," : Vol. 2, "Matheri"; "Clariss. D. Boehmi, (qui Latini translutit hunc Librum,) Donum."
- ARS Sciendi, sive Logica. London, 1681. 0.50. Inscribed "Matheri."
- ARTICLES of Religion agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland in Convocation at Dublin, 1615. [n. p.], 1681. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]
- ASGILL, JOHN. *Essay on a Registry for Title of Land*. London, 1698. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 5.]
- ASPINWALL, WILLIAM. *Abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath*. London, 1657. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 20.]
- ASSIGNY, MARIUS. *Rhetorica Anglorum*. London, 1699. 0.34. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber."
- ATKINSON, JAMES. *Epitome of the Art of Navigation*. London, 1740. 0.50. Inscribed, "Increase Mather's Book, 1758."
- AUTHORITY Abused by the Vindication of the Last Years Transactions. London, 1690. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]
- AWAKENING Word in Season to the Grand-Jury-Men of the Nation. 2ed., London, 1684. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.] Autograph of "I. Mather."

B

- BAGSHAW, EDWARD. *Necessity and Use of Heresies*. London, 1662. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.]
- BALDWIN, THOMAS. *Sermon*, February 19, 1795, day of Thanksgiving. Boston, 1795. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 10.]
- BALE, JOHN. *Vocacyon of, to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande*. [t. p. mut.] 8.34. Autograph of "Crescentius Matherus."
- BARCLAY, ROBERT. *Baptism and the Lord's Supper*. London, 1696. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 4.]
- BARCLAY, ROBERT. *Truth cleared * * * wherein a Book intituled, A Dialogue betwixt a Quaker and a Stable Christian is examined*. [n. p.], 1670. [t. p. mut., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.] Inscribed "Christopher Clarke his booke."
- BARKER, MATTHEW. *Natural Theology; or the Knowledge of God from the Works of Creation*. London, 1674. 0.34. Inscribed "Increase Mather his Book Given to him By Thomas Mather."

- BARTELOMAEUS, PAUL. *De ratione Quantitatis Syllabariae Liber.* Lvgduni, 1578. 0.34. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Saml. Mather's Book 1717."
- BARTHOLIN, THOMAS. *Cista Medica Hafniensis.* Hafniæ, 1662. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber"; "S. Matheri. 1731."
- Bartholin, Thomas. *De Luce Animalium. Libri III.* Leyden, 1647. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber"; "1. O. 21."
- Bartholin, Thomas. *De Nivis usu Medico Observationes variæ.* Hafniæ, 1661. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Autograph of "Mather Byles."
- Bartholin, Thomas. *Historiarum Anatomicarum rariorum Centuria.* Amsterdam, 1654. 0.75. Inscribed "Samuelis Matheri, 1746."
- Bartholin, Thomas. *Historiarum, Anatomicarum et Medicarum Rariorum.* Hafniæ, 1661. [Bd. with *his* *De Nivis usu Medico*, 1661.]
- BASSON, SEBASTIAN. *Philosophiæ Naturalis adversus Aristotelem.* Geneva, 1621. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1683."
- BATES, ISAAC. Not Death but Immortality, the desir'd Relief of the Burthen'd Christian. Sermon, Jan. 25, 1707-8. London, 1708. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.] Inscribed "Mather."
- BAXTER, RICHARD. Against the Revolt to a Foreign Jurisdiction. London, 1691. 0.50. Inscribed "Matheri."
- Baxter, Richard. *Church Concord.* London, 1691. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.] Inscribed "I. Mather, London, Mch. 25, 1691, ex dono Authoris."
- Baxter, Richard. *Immortality of Mans Soul.* London, 1682. 0.25. Autograph of "S. Matheri."
- Baxter, Richard. Reply to Beverly's Answer to my Reasons against his Doctrine of the Thousand Years. London, 1691. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 17.]
- Beames of Former Light. London, 1660. 0.20. Inscribed "Crescentius Mather [Caelus non Solus]"; also in I. Mather's hand, "P. Nye Author."
- BECANUS, MARTIN. *Tractus De Deo et Attribvtis Divinis.* Moguntia, 1611. 0.40. Autograph of "S. Matheri, 1739."
- BECK, DAVID VON DER. *Experimenta et Meditationes circa Naturalium Rerum Principia.* Hamburgi, 1674. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Mather's Liber, 1693."
- BEILHAVEN, Lord. Speech in the Scotch Parliament, 2d November, on the Union between the Kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland. [n. p.] 1706. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 4.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- BELLARMINUS, ROBERTUS. *De Ascensione Mentis in Devm.* Rome, 1627. [t. p. mut.] 0.40.
- Bellarminus, Robertus. *De Septem verbis a Christo in cruce prolatis.* Coloniae, 1618. 0.20. Inscribed "Cromwell"; "Upwood, 1628"; "Samuel Mather's Book. 1727 ꝑ legi."
- BELLUS, THOMAS. *Roma Restituta.* Glasgow, 1672. 0.34.

- BERNARD, RICHARD. Looke beyond Luther. London, 1623. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 11.] Inscribed "Liber Richardi Mather ex dono" [Christian Gleaber.]
- BERNOULLI, JACQUES. Conamen novi Systematis Cometarum. Amsterdam, 1682. [t. p. mut.] 0.40. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber."
- BERWICK, JOHN. Deceivers Deceiv'd. Sermon October 20, 1661. London, 1661. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 16.]
- BESOLD, CHRISTOPH. Axiomatvm Philosophiæ Christianæ. 2 ed., Argenterati, 1628. 0.34. Autographs of "I. Mather"; "Samuel Mather."
- BETHEL, SLINGSBY. Interest of the Princes and States of Europe. 2ed., London, 1681. 0.30. Inscribed "Mather."
- BEVERLY, THOMAS. Grand Apocalyptical Vision of the Witnesses. Slain. [London, 1689.] [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.]
- Beverly, Thomas. Pattern of the Divine Temple, Sanctuary, and City of the New Jerusalem. [London, 1689.] [t. p. mut., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.]
- Beverley, Thomas. Prophetical History of the Reformation. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.]
- Beverly, Thomas. Thousand Years Kingdom of Christ, in its full Scripture State. London, 1691. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.] Inscribed "Mr. I. Mather Feb. 18, 1690. Ex dono Authoris." MS. letter from Author to I. Mather inserted.
- Beverly, Thomas. Universal Christian Doctrine of the Day of Judgment. London, 1691. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.]
- BEVEROVICIUS, JOHANNES. Epistolicae Quaestiones, cum Doctorum Responsis. Rotterdam, 1644. 0.25. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber. 1693."; "Samuelis Matheri Liber 1727."
- BEZA, THEODORE DE. In Epistolam D. Pavli ad Galatas notæ. Geneva, 1578. [t. p. mut.] 0.34
- Bibliotheca Biblica. [Several Numbers.] Oxford, 1728-9. [Eng. Tracts Vol. 25.]
- Bibliothèque Italique, ou Histoire Litteraire de L'Italie, 1731. Tome 11. Geneva, 1731. [t. p. mut.] 0.25. Inscribed "S Matheri, Ex Dono Cel. D. Bousquet. Professoris Eximii Philosoph. [?]omensis, 1741."
- BIDDLE, JOHN. Twofold Catechism. London, 1654. 0.19. Inscribed "I bought this Book of Father Hamlett, for 1s. 4d. Nov. 5, 1700. C. Mather."; "Elizabeth Mather her book."
- BILLINGSLEY, NICHOLAS. Sermon at Ordination of Thomas Morgan, Sept. 6, 1716. London, 1717. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 8.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- BILSON, THOMAS. [True Difference betweene Christian Subjection and unchristian Rebellion.] [t. p. w.] 1.00. Inscribed "William Snell his hand."
- BIRCH, PETER. Sermon before the House of Commons, Jan. 30, 1694 London, 1694. [Bd. with Hist. of Kings of Eng., 1692.]

- Birchen Rod for Dr. Birch. [n. p.], 1694. [Bd. with Hist. of Kings of Eng., 1692.]
- BIRD, BENJAMIN. Jacobites Catechism. London, reprinted at Boston. 1692. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 2.] Inscribed "Entered in Bost. Cat."
- BODINUS, JOHANNES. De Magorum Daemonomania. Frankfort, 1590. 0.75. Inscribed "Crsc. Matheri Lib."
- BOEHM, ANTHONY WILLIAM. Duty of Reformation: Sermon. London, 1718. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 7.] Inscribed "Mather."
- BOYLE, ROBERT. Essay of the Great Effects of even Languid and Unheeded Motion. London, 1690. 0.50. Inscribed "I. Mather"; "From my friend Mr. Mather, 1758." "For Mr. Mather * * * in Throgmorton Street."
- Boyle, Robert. Experimentorum Novorum Physico-Mechanicorum. London, 1680. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus Londini. No [?] 13, 1688."
- Boyle, Robert. Experiments and Considerations about the Porosity of Bodies. London, 1684. [Bd. with *his* Memoirs, 1684.]
- Boyle, Robert. Memoirs for the Natural History of Humane Blood, London, 1684. Inscribed "Increase Mather London October 6th 1688"; "Samuel Mather's Book, 1723."
- Boyle, Robert. Of the Reconcilableness of Specifick Medicines to Corpuscular Philosophy. London, 1685. [Bd. with *his* Memoirs, 1684.]
- Boyle, Robert. Short Memoirs for the Natural Experimental History of Mineral Waters. London, 1684-5. [Bd. with *his* Memoirs, 1684.]
- Boyle, Robert. Some Considerations touching the Style of the Holy Scriptures. 3ed., London, 1668. 0.40. Inscribed "Mather."
- BRADBURY, THOMAS. Ass; or, The Serpent. 3ed. London, [n. d.] [Bd. with *his* Letter to Sir J. B., 1711.]
- Bradbury, Thomas. Hardness of Heart, the certain Mark of a Ruin'd Party; in Two Sermons, June 7 and 10, 1716. 2ed., London, 1716. [Bd. with *his* Letter to Sir J. B., 1711.]
- Bradbury, Thomas. Justice and Property the Glory of a Deliverance. Two Sermons, Jan. 20 and 23, 1715. London, 1715. [Bd. with *his* Letter to Sir J. B. 1711.]
- Bradbury, Thomas. Lawfulness of Resisting Tyrants. 4ed., London, 1714. [Bd. with *his* Letter to Sir J. B., 1711.]
- Bradbury, Thomas. Letter to Sir J—B.—. London, 1711.
- Bradbury, Thomas. Non-Resistance without Priestcraft; in Sermon, Nov. 5, 1715. 3ed., London, 1715. [Bd. with *his* Letter to Sir J. B., 1711.]
- Bradbury, Thomas.] Second letter to Sir J— B—. London [n. d.] [Bd. with *his* Letter, to J. B., 1711.]
- Bradbury, Thomas. Theocracy: Sermon, Nov. 5, 1711. London, 1712. [Bd. with *his* Letter to Sir J. B., 1711.]
- Bradbury, Thomas. True Happiness of a Good Government; explain'd in a sermon, 5th Nov., 1714. 3ed., London, 1714. [Bd. with *his* Letter to Sir J. B., 1711.]

- BRADDON, LAWRENCE. *Essex's Innocency and Honour Vindicated: in Letter to a Friend.* London, 1690. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 23.]
- BRANDMYLLERUS, JOHANNES. *Antecessoris Conciones Funebres.* 6ed., Basiliæ, 1600. MDCIIX(?) 1.00. Inscribed "Samuel Mather."
- Brief Discourse concerning the Lawfulness of Worshipping God by the Common Prayer. London, 1693.
- BROUGHTON, HUGH. *Concent of Scripture.* London, 1591. 1.00.
- Broughton, Hugh. *Textes of Scripture.* London, 1591. [Bd. with *his* Concent of Scripture, 1591.]
- BROWNE, THOMAS. *Religio Medici.* [t. p. w.] 0.50.
- BRYAN, JOHN. *Eternal Deity, or Existence of the Logos.* London. 1622. [Bd. with *Doctrine of the Trinity*, 1719.]
- BUCANUS, GULIELMUS. *Institvtiones Theologicæ.* Geneva, 1625. 1.00. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Cottonus Matherus, 1676"; "Nath. Clarke"; "pret. 3s 6d; "S. C. 94"; "2s R. H."
- BURGERSDICIUS, FRANCISKUS. *Idea Philosophiæ Moralis.* 2ed., Leyden, 1629. 0.40. [t. p. mut.]
- BURGESS, CORNELIUS. *Fire of the Sanctuarie newly unçovered.* London, 1625. 0.50. Inscribed "Ad astra per aspera Saml. Willard ꝑ legi."
- BURGESS, DANIEL. *Church's Triumph over Death; funeral sermon upon the Decease of Rev. Rob. Fleming.* London, 1694. 0.20. Inscribed "Matheri"; "Authoris Donum."
- BURNET, GILBERT, Bishop of Sarum. *Essay on the Memory of the late Queen.* London, 1695. 0.25. Inscribed "Domⁱ. Crescentii Matheri Liber"; "Hannah Mather's Book, 1734."
- BURTHOGGE, RICHARD. *Causa Dei, or an Apology for God.* London, 1675. 0.40. Inscribed "S. Mather's 1737."
- BUSBEGIUS, AUGERIUS GISLENIUS. *Opera.* Leyden, 1623. [t. p. mut.] 0.40.
- BUSENBAUM, HERMANN. *Medulla Theologiæ Moralis.* Lyons, 1676. 0.50. Autograph of "Jean Pages."
- BUTLER, CHARLES. *Rhetoricæ Libri duo.* London, 1642. 0.25. Inscribed "Nath Creswith Book. paid 12d."
- BUTLER, LILLY. *Sermon before the Lord Mayor of London,* 5 Nov. 1710. London, 1710. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.]

C

- C., T. *Examiner Examined; a Vindication of the History of Liturgies.* London, 1691. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.]
- CALAMY, EDMUND. *Truth and Love. Discourse, at Merchants-Lecture,* Nov. 29, 1720. London, 1720. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 7.] Inscribed "Mather."
- Calamy, Edward. *Letter to Archdeacon Echard, upon his History of England.* 3ed., London, 1718. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 8.] Inscribed "Mather."
- Caledonia, or the Pedlar turn'd Merchant. London, 1700. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.] Inscribed "M."

- Call to Backsliders, or Supplement unto the Voice of the Rod. [n. p.], 1680. 0.25.
- CAMERARIUS, PHILIP. *Operæ Horarum Subeivarum*. Frankfort, 1644-50. 3v. 3.00. Inscribed, Vol. 1: "Samuel Mather Junr. me jure tenet 1720"; v. 2, "Samuel Mather his Book."; v. 3, "Crescentii Matheri Liber."
- CAMPANELLA, THOMAS. [De Monarchia Hispanica Discursvs. Leyden. 1620.] [t. p. w.] 0.75.
- CANTERBURY, WILLIAM, Lord Bp. of. Speech in Star Chamber, at the Censure of Bastwick, Burton, Prinn. London, 1637. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 14.]
- CANTERBURY, Archbishop of. Letter to the Arch-Deacons and Clergy of the Diocese of St. David. London, 1703. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.]
- CARDANUS, HEIR. De Vtilitate ex adversis capienda, Franikerae, 1648. [t. p. mut.] 0.40. Inscribed "Sam[uel Mather] 1724."
- CARE, HENRY. *Utrum Horum*; or the Nine and Thirty Articles of the Church of England. London, 1682. 0.50. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber, 1683."
- Carminvm Proverbialivm. London, 1583. 0.40. Autographs of "Sam Mather," "Charles Bostock," "Georgius Hill."
- [Case of the Affirmation briefly stated.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 4.]
- Case of the Oaths stated. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]
- Catechism. Catechismus Brevis. London, 1553. 0.50. Inscribed, "Crescentius Mathers Londini Octobris 13, 1690"; also "Dr. Pone [?] episcopus Wintonia [?] is hunc catechismus composuit."
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- CHAFIE, THOMAS. Brief Tract on the Fourth Commandment. London, 1692. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- CHAMIER, DANIEL. *Epistolæ Jesuiticæ*. Paris, 1599. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Stephen West. pr. * * * Jun. 24th, 1605"; "S. Matheri."
- Character of a Bigotted Prince. London, 1691. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]
- Character of a Low-Church-Man. 3ed., [n. p., n. d.] [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 7.] Inscribed "Samuel Mather 1723."
- CHARLETON, WALTER. Two Discourses. 1. Concerning the Different Wits of Men. 2. The Myserie of Vintners. London, 1669. 0.25. Inscribed "I. Mather"; "S. Matheri, 1720."
- CHAUNCY, CHARLES. Validity of Presbyterian Ordination asserted. Discourse at Dudleian-Lecture, May 12, 1762. Boston, 1762. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 10.]
- CHAUNCY, ISAAC. Discourse concerning Unction. London, 1697. [Bd. with *his* Divine Institution, 1697.]
- Chauncy, Isaac. Divine Institution of Congregational Churches. London, 1697. 0.40.
- Chauncy, Isaac. Doctrine which is according to Godliness. London, [n. d.] 0.34.

- CHEYNELL, FRANCIS. Divine Trinunity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. London, 1650. 0.50. Inscribed "Tho. Shepard"; with MS. notes in same hand; also, "S. Mather's."
- Cheyne, Francis. Rise, Growth and Danger of Socianisme. London, 1643. [Eng. Tracts. Vol. 19.]
- CHILD, JOHN. Mischiel of Persecution exemplified; by Life and End of John Child. London, 1688. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.] Inscribed "I. M."
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- [Christian Virtuoso. London, 1690.] [t. p. w.] 0.34.
- CHRYSTOM, JOANNES. [Homilies.] [t. p. w.] 0.34.
- CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS. [Epistolarum Liber XIII.] Imprinted at London by Ihon Kyngston, 1556.] [t. p. w.] 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber"; "Sam^l. Mather His Book 1716 Hunc Librum Jure tenet."
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. [Orationes, London.] [t. p. w.] 0.75. Inscribed "S. M. Crocker's, 1796."
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. Sententiæ Ciceronis, Demostinis, ac Terentii. London, 1648. 0.34 Inscribed "Matheri."
- CIGOGNA, STROZZIUS. Magiæ Omnifariæ vel potius Vniuersæ Naturæ Theatrum. Caloniæ, 1607. 0.50.
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- CLARKE, JOHN. Formulæ Oratoria. 9ed., London, 1664. 0.34. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Cotton Mather dedit Pater, 1681" Samuel Mather ex dono ingenii"; "Nathanael Mather."
- Clarke, John. Phraseologia Puerillis. 4ed., London, 1670. Inscribed "Toma Matheri Liber." 0.50.
- CLARKSON, DAVID. Discourse concerning Liturgies. London, 1689. 0.30. Inscribed "Mather."
- Clarkson, David. Primative Episcopacy. London, 1688. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.]
- CLAUDE, JEAN. Life and Death of Mons. Claude. London, 1688. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 17.]
- Claude, Jean. Oeuvres Posthumes. 3 Vols. Amsterdam, 1688-9. 3.00. Each vol. inscribed "Matheri."
- Claude, Jean. Response au Livre de Meaux, Hague, 1683. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "Matheri."
- CLERKE, FRANCIS. Praxis Curiae Admiralitatis Angliæ. London, 1579. 0.20. Inscribed "I. Mather."
- CLOPPENBURG, JOHANN EVERHARD. Opuscula. Frankfort, 1652. 0.34. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber Londini de [Actore] 19, 1690"; "S. Matheris, 1760."

- COBBES, EDMUND. *Mundatum Speculum, or, the Worldings Looking-Glasse.* London, 1630. [Bd. with Lesley's *Epithrence*, 1631.]
- COLE, THOMAS. *Discourse of Regeneration.* London, 1689. 0.50. Inscribed "Legi S M."
- COLE, WILLIAM. *Physico-Medical Essay Concerning the frequency of Apoplexies.* Oxford, 1689. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "Datus mihi a patre meo 1753 Thomas Matheri."
- COLEMAN, EDWARD. *Tryal of, for Conspiring the Death of the King.* [n. p.], 1678. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 23.]
- Collection of Memorandums or Things offered to the Consideration of the Great Convention. London, 1689.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]
- Collegiat Suffrage of the Divines of Great Britaine. London, 1629. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 12.] Inscribed "Richard Mather * * * ."
- COLLINGS, JOHN. *Defensative Armour against Four of Sathan's most fiery Darts.* London, 1680. 0.34. Autograph of "I. Mather."
- COLMAN, BENJAMIN. *Dying in Peace in a Good Old Age. Sermon after funeral of Simeon Stoddard.* Boston, 1730. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 10.]
- Colman, Benjamin. *Gospel Ministry the rich Gift of the Ascended Saviour.* Boston, 1715. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 2.] Inscribed "For the Revd. Dr. Increase Mather."
- COMENIUS, JOHANNES AMOS. *De Bono Unitatis et Ordinis Disciplinae ac Obedientiae, etc.* London, 1710. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 1.] Inscribed "Mather"; "D. Boehmi; done [?]."
- Comenius, Johannes Amos. [Ecclesiae Slavonicae. Lesnæ, 1632.] [t. p. w.] 0.34. Inscribed "Reverendo Patri suo D. Richardo Mathero ecclesia dorcestiensis Nov Anglicane Doctore dedit filius— Quo non indignior alter Crescentius Matherus caelus non solus. Londini, Jan^{ry} 18, 1660."
- Comenius, Johannes Amos. [Grammaticae Elegantiae.] [t. p. w.] 0.17.
- Common-Prayer Book Devotions, Episcopal Delusions. [n. p.], 1666. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 16.] Inscribed "I. Mather"; "Sam Bonus."
- Communication of Property. London, 1708. 0.34. Inscribed "Math-eri."
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- Conciones et Orationes Latinis excerptae. Amsterdam, 1648. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Autographs of "Crescentius Matherus," "Cottonus Matherus," "S. Matheri. 1741."
- Continuation of the History of Passive Obedience since the Reformation. Amsterdam, 1690. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 23.]
- Controversiae inter Theologos Wittenbergenses de Regeneratione. Frankfurt, 1594. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 20.]
- Copy of a Remonstrance to the Assembly. By Goodwin, Burroughs, Greenhill, etc. London, 1645. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 16.] Inscribed "Richard Mather, 2^d."

- COSTERUS, FRANCISCUS. *Libellvs Soladitatis*. Coloniae, 1586. 0.50.
- COWELL, JOHN. *Institvtiones-Jvris Anglicani*. Cantabrigiae, 1605. 0.34. Autograph of "S. Matheri, 1756."
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- CROUCH, HENRY. *Complete View of the British Customs*. 2ed., London, 1731. 0.75. Inscribed "Geo. Rogers 1733."
- [Curious Religious Dialogue.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 14.]

D

- D., H. Sober and temperate Discourse concerning the interest of words in prayer. London, 1661. 0.25. Inscribed "Enjoy'd and Approv'd, by C. Mather, 1688."
- DANEAU, LAMBERT. *Ethices Christianae*. Geneva, 1614. [t. p. mut.] .40. Inscribed "S. Matheri, 1760."
- Daneau, Lambert. In Pauli priorem Epistolam ad Timotheum Commentarius. Geneva, 1577. [t. p. mut.] 0.40.
- Daneau, Lambert. *Symboli Apostolici Explicatio*. Geneva, 1592. 0.50.
- DAVENANT, JOHN. *Ad Fraternal Communionem inter Evangelicas Ecclesias restaurandam Ad hortatio*. Cantabrigiae, 1640. [Bd. with J. H. Alstedius, *De Mille Annis*, 1627.]
- Davenant, John. *Praelectiones De Duobus in Theologia Controversiis Captibus*. Catabrigiae, 1661. 1.00.
- Davenport, John. *Power of Congregational Churches Asserted and Vindicated*. London, 1672. 0.40. Inscribed "Crescentius Math-
erus ex dono filius * Authoris Rexerendi [et] olim et amici mei
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- [Decretalium Gregorum.] [t. p. w.] 2.00.
- Defence of the Churches and Ministry of Englande. Middelburgh, 1599. [t. p. mut., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 17.]
- DELAMER, HENRY, Earl of Warrington. *Works*. London, 1694. Inscribed "I. Mather"; "S. Mather, 1731."
- DELL, WILLIAM. *Baptismon Didache; or, the Doctrine of Baptisms*. 4ed., London, 1652, reprinted, Philadelphia, 1724. [Eng. Tracts Vol. 2.]
- DEMOSTHENES. *Orationes*. Augustae Munatianae, 1620. 0.50. Inscribed "S. Matheri 1740."
- DENISON, JOHN. *Nine Sermons*. London, 1624. 0.50. Inscribed "Danyell Searle: his Booke."
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- [Descriptione Moscoviticæ. Leyden, 1631. [t. p. w.] 0.50.

- DEUSING, ANTON. *Sympathetici Pulveris examen*. Groningen, 1662. 0.52.
- DICKINSON, JONATHAN. *Vindication of God's Sovereign Grace*. Boston, 1746. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 10.]
- Dictionary English and Latine. London, 1623. 0.34. Inscribed "I. Mather"; "Cottonus Matherus 1674"; "Nathanaelis Matheri Liber 1682"; "John Bellingham ejus Liber. Anno Dom, 1655"; "Samuel Mather's Book 1717."
- DIGBY, KENELM. *Observations upon Religio Medici*. 2ed., London, 1644. [Bd. with T. Browne's *Religio Medici*, 1644.]
- DIKE, JEREMIAH. *Righteous Mans Tower*. London, 1641. 0.34. Inscribed "Thome Matheri ejus liber Anno domini 1753"; "Matheri"; "I. Mather"; "Mrs. Hood."
- Dike, Jeremiah. *Worthy Communicant*. London, 1636. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matheri 1677"; "I. Mather."
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- Discourse concerning the Nature, Power, and Effects of the Conventions in both Kingdoms. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.] Inscribed "I. Mat[her]."
- Dissenters Claim of Right to a Capacity for Civil Offices. [t. p. mut., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 3.] Inscribed "Matheri."
- Dissertatio de Pace et Concordia Ecclesiæ. Elevtheropoli, 1630.
- Doctrine of the Trinity stated. By Some London Ministers. London, 1719. 0.34. Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Book, 1731. Received from the Reverend Mr. Walrond at Exon."
- DODWELL, HENRY. *De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali*. London, 1635. [Bd. with H. Grotius, *De Coenae*, 1685.]
- DORPIUS, MARTEN. [Theol. Lovarii.] [t. p. w.] 0.20.
- DORSCHÉ, JOHANN GEORG. *Consideratio Theologica*. Argentorati, 1624. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.]
- DOVGLOSS, JACOBUS. *Descriptio Comparata Mvsevlorvm Corporis, Hvmani at Qvadrupedis*. Leyden, 1729. 0.50.
- DOWNAME, GEORGE. *Abstract of the Duties commanded in the Law of God*. London, 1626. 0.34. Autographs of "Crescentius Matherus, 1651"; "Richard Mather."
- DRAXE, THOMAS. *Bibliotheca Scholastica Instructissima*. London, 1654. 0.34. Autographs of "S. Matheri"; "Hanover Cook."
- Draxe, Thomas. *Calliopeia*. London, 1662. 0.34. Inscribed "Nathanielis Matheri Liber, 1680"; "Cotton Mather this is his Book"; "Crescentius Matherus"; "Samuel Mather His Book Anno Domini 1684 me jure tenet et vendicat anno Jesu Christi 1684"; "Samuel Mather His Book 174-9 Given Him by His Honoured Father."; "Chænock William."
- DRIESCHÉ, JOHANNES. *Observationum Libri XII*. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri liber 1735 etatis . . . 89."

- DUAREN, FRANCOIS. *De Sacris Ecclesiæ Ministeriis ac Beneficiis*. Paris, 1564. 1.00. Inscribed "Thos. Wilcocks"; "F D. Dl. 1576 Lond."
- DUKE, FRANCIS. *Fulness and Freeness of God's Grace*. London, 1656. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.]
- DUMMER, JEREMIAH. *Letter from a Dissenter in the City, to his Country Friend*. London, 1705. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- DUMOULIN, PIERRE. *Anatome Arminianismi*. Leyden, 1620. 0.40. Inscribed "Carolus Chauncy pretium 3^s 4^d"; "Samuelis Matheri Liber."
- Du Moulin, Pierre. *Elementa Logica*. 4ed., Paris, 1611. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "Guillaume Styles [?] 1615"; "Matheri."
- Du Moulin, Pierre. *Enodatio Gravissimarum quaestionum*. Leyden, 1632. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "James, Hanna, Glasouensis Scotus"; "Samuelis Matheri, 1755."
- Du Moulin, Pierre. *Pro Dei Misericordia*. Rotterdam, 1749. [t. p. mut.] 0.40. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber"; "Samuel Lee tenet 1657. Dec. 4 of Sa Tomson a : o."
- Du Moulin, Pierre. *Vates Seu De Præcognitione futurorum et Bonis Malisque Prophetis*. Leyden, 1640. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "Samuelis Matheri Liber, 1723."
- DURANDUS, GULIELMUS. *Rationale Divinorum*. Antwerp, 1614. 2 v. in 1. 1.00. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Nathanaelis Matheri. Liber 1683. D. dedit Pater."
- DURHAM, JAMES. *Law Unsealed*. 3ed., Edinburgh, 1676. 1.00.

E

- EARBERY, MATTHIAS. *Deism Examined*. London, 1697. 0.50. Autograph of "I. Mather."
- EARL, JOHN. *Vel Imago Regis Caroli*. Hagæ-Comitis, 1649. 0.34.
- Earnest Call to Family Catechising. By a Reverend Divine. London, 1693. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 1.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- EASTBURN, BENJAMIN. *Doctrine of Absolute Reprobation*. Philadelphia, 1723. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 2.]
- EATON, NATHANIEL. *Inquisitio De Sabbato et Die Dominico*. Franekeræ, 1633. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 1.] Inscribed "Sam. M[ather]."
- Ecclesiastica Disciplina. Rapellæ, 1574. [t. p. mut.] 0.25. Inscribed "1^s 6^d"; "Dudl. Fenner"; "D. Travers."
- EDWARDS, JOHN. *Arminian Doctrines condemn'd by the Holy Scriptures*. London, 1711. 0.50. Inscribed "Authoris Donum"; also in C. Mather's hand "Extract from a Letter of Dr. Edwards, to C. M. Jun. 19, 1711," followed by text of extract in same hand.
- Edwards, John. *Brief Critical Remarks on Dr. Clarke's last Papers*. London, 1714. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 8.] Inscribed "Matheri"; "Authoris Donum."
- Edwards, John. *Brief Remarks on "The Difficulties which attend the Study of the Scriptures"*. London, 1714. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 8.] Inscribed "Mathe[r]"; "Authoris Donum."

- Edwards, John. *Concio et Determinatio pro Gradu Doctoratus in Sacra Theologia*. Cantabrigiæ, 1700. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 4.]
- Edwards, John. *Crispianism Unmasked*. London, [?] [t. p. mut., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.] Inscribed "Matheri"; "Clariss. D. Joannis Edwardis [Authoris . . .]"; "J R D."
- Edwards, John. *Divine Perfections Vindicated*. London, 1710. [Eng. Tracts, vol. 9.] Inscribed "Matheri"; "Authoris Donum."
- Edwards, John. Letter to Lawrence Fogg, Dean of Chester. London, 1715. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 8.]
- Edwards, John. *Supplement to Animadversions on Clarke's Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*. London, 1713. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.] Inscribed "Matheri"; "Authoris Donum."
- EDWARDS, THOMAS. *Reasons against the Independant Government of particular Congregations*. London, 1641. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 14.] Autograph of "Richard M[ather]."
- Eighth Collection of Papers relating to present Affairs in England. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.] —Ninth Collection. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.]
- ELLIS, CLEMENT. *Religion and Loyalty inseparable*. Sermon. Nottingham, Sept. 5, 1690. London, 1691. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- ELSYNGE, HENRY. *Ancient Method and Manner of Holding Parliaments in England*. 4ed., London, 1679. 0.50. Inscribed "I. Matherus Boston."
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- ENGLAND, JOHN. *Reply to Clifford*. London, 1702. [Eng. Tracts. Vol. 5.]
- ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS. *Epitome Adagiorvm Erasmi, Ivni, Cognati, et Aliorvm*, 1593. [t. p. mut.] Inscribed "Johannes Allinus hunc liber jure tenet"; "Nathanielis Mather Liber 1682. D. dedit Frater suus charissimus, C. M."; "Hannah Mather"; "S. Matheri, 1734."
- Erasmus, Desiderius. *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. Basileæ, 1551. 0.50. Autograph of "Samuel Mather 1720."
- Erasmus, Desiderius. *De Ratione conscribendi Epistolis*. Basileæ, 1522. 0.40.
- Essay in Defence of the Protestant Religion*. [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 16.]
- Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America*. By An American. London, 1701. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 6.] Inscribed "Mat[her]."
- EUSTACHIUS, Fr. *Summa Philosophiæ*. Geneva, 1634. [t. p. mut.] 0.50.
- Evanke, George. *Farewell Sermon*. [n. p.] 1663. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.]

- EVANS, JOHN. Funeral Sermon, death of Daniel Williams. London, 1716. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.] Autograph of "Mather Byles."
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F

- F., J. God's Goodness to his Israel in all ages. London, 1700. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 6.] Inscribed "Beal."
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- Flores Andrea. Theologicarum Quæstionvm. Collectia Valentino. Antwerp, 1580. 2 v. in 1. [t. p. mut.] 1.00.
- FLORUS, LUCIUS JULIUS. [Historiæ Romanæ.] [t. p. w.] 0.50. Inscribed "S. Matheri, 1724."
- FLORUS, LUCIUS JULIUS. Rerum à Romanis Gestarvm Libri IV. Oxononiæ, 1638. Inscribed "John Ashwood"; "Michael Stukely."
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- GAGE, THOMAS. Some Remarkable Passages relating to Archbishop Laud. London, 1712. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- GAILLARDUS, JACOBUS. Oratio Inauguralis. Leyden, 1686. [t. p. mut., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.]
- GALE, THEOPHILUS. Anatomie of Infidelitie. London, 1672. 0.35. Autographs of "Crescentius Matherus"; "Samuel Mather."
- Gale, Theophilus. True Idea of Jansenisme. London, 1669. 0.25. Autographs of "S. Matheri"; "I. Matheri."
- GALTRUCHIUS, PETRUS. Philosophiæ de Mathematicæ totivs Institutio. Cadomi, 1665. 2 vols. 3.50. "Physica Particularis" inscribed "S. Matheri, 1751."
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- GEREE, STEPHEN. *Doctrine of the Antinomians*. London, 1644. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 19.] Inscribed "Mather."
- GERHARD, JOHANN. *Harmoniæ Evangelicæ*. Geneva, 1628. [t. p. mut.] 3.50. Inscribed "Liber Richardi Mather."
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- GODDARD, THOMAS. *Mercy of God to this Kingdom*. Sermon, Thanksgiving, 1710. London, 1710. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.]
- GOODWIN, JOHN. *Hagiomastix, or the Scourge of the Saints*. London 1646. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.] Autograph of "Richard Mather."
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- GOODWIN, THOMAS. *Transubstantiation, never owned by the Ancient Church*. London, 1688. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
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- Grosvenor, Benjamin. Influence of Christ's Intercession; Sermon at Charity School, Southwark, Jan. 1, 1714. London, 1714. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 6.] Inscribed "Matheri"; "Authoris don[um]."
- Grosvenor, Benjamin. Temper of Jesus towards his Enemies. London, 1712. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 7.] Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Bo[ok]; "Thomas Apostle."
- GROTIUS, HUGO. De Coenæ administratione, etc. London, 1685, Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber Londini 1691."
- GROVE, ROBERT. Refutatio cujusdam Scripti hoc insigniti Lemmate. [n. p.] 1681. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.]

H

- H., J. Middle Way of Perfection. London, 1674. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15].
- H., W. Spirit of Prophecy. London, 1679. 0.75. Inscribed "I. Mather."
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- HARPHIUS, HENRICUS. Theologiæ-Mysticæ. Coloniae, 1611. 1.25 Inscribed "Samuelis Matheri Liber, 1783."
- HARRIS, WILLIAM. Sermon at Queen's Chappel in Boston, Christmas Day, 1712. Boston, 1712. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 17.] Inscribed "Mather."
- Harris, William. Sermon on the Publick Fast, Jan. 19, 1703-4, with Reference to the Dreadful Storm. London, 1704. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 6.] Autograph of "I. Mather."

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- HEINSIUS, DANIEL. Aristarchvs Sacer. Leyden, 1627. 1.00. Inscribed "E Libris E. Chauncey"; "S. Matheri, 1739."
- HELVICUS, CHRISTOPH. Theatrum Historicum et Chronologicvm. 5ed. Oxoniæ, 1651.
- HEMMINGIUS, NICHOLAS. Opvsevla Theologica. [n. p.], 1586. 3.00. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus 1664"; "Benjamin Thomson His Booke"; "Samuelis Matheri Liber."
- HENCKEL, ELIAS HENRI. Ordo et Methodus cognoscendi Energumenos. Frankfort, 1689. 0.25. Inscribed "Mather, Londini 1691."
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- Hermælogium: or, an Essay at the rationality of the Art of Speaking. London, 1659. 0.17. Inscribed, "S. Matheri 1750."
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- HICKMAN, HENRY. Bonasus Vapulans, By a Country Scholar. London, 1672. 0.20. Inscribed, "Sam^l. Mathers Book, Legi S. Mathers."
- HIERON, SAMUEL. [Sermons and Theological Works. London, 1613.] [t. p. w.] 2.00.
- HILDERSHAM, ARTHUR. CLII Lectures upon Psalm LI. London, 1642. 2.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Sam. Mathers. Ex dono Patris Honorandi 1693."
- HOGELANDE, CORNELIUS ab. Cogitationes quibus Dei Existentia. Amsterdam, 1646. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matheri"; "Cottoni Matheri Liber, 1679."
- Hogelande, Cornelius ab. De Divina Prædestinatione. Amsterdam, 1653. [Bd. with *his* Cogitationes, 1646.] Inscribed "Matheri."
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- HOLLOWAY, JAMES. [Confession and Narrative of James Holloway] Executed for High Treason, 1684.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 23.]
- HOOKE, JOHN. Catholicism without Popery. London, 1704. 0.40. Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Book 1730."
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- HORNBECK, JOHANNES. Apologia pro Ecclesia Christiana Hodierna. Amsterdam, 1647. 0.40. Inscribed, "S. Matheri, 1741"; "Crescentius Matherus."
- HORNE, ROBERT. Christian Governour in the Commonwealth. London, 1614. 0.34.
- HORNE, THOMAS. Janua Linguarum. 9ed., London, 1645. 0.50. Inscribed "Increase Mather His Book"; "Samuel Mather."
- Horne, Thomas. Manuductio in Ædem Palladis. London, 1641. 0.25. Inscribed "I Mather"; "S. Matheri, 1750."
- HORSTIUS, GREGORIUS, Sr. Operum Medicorum. Vol. 1, Ulm, 1660. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "Matheri."
- HOTTINGER, JOHANN HEINRICH. Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ. Tiguri, 1654. 1.00.
- How, JOHN. Calm and Sober Enquiry. London, 1694.
- HOWELL, WILLIAM. Institution of General History. London, 1680. Inscribed "John Richards"; "Samuel Mather's, 1720."
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- HUGHES, GEORGE. Aphorisms of Select Propositions of Scripture. London, 1670. [t. p. mut.] 0.40. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber, 1679."
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- Humphrey, John. Peaceable Disquisitions. London, 1678. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.] Autographs of "I. Mather"; "Sam. Mather."

I

- In Expeditionem Britannicam ab Guiljelmo III atque Mariæ Stuartæ coronationem. Odæ Sacræ et Carmina. Ultrajecti, 1689. [t.p. mut.] [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.]
- Ireneus, St. Adversvs Hæreses. Paris, 1563. 1.50.
- ISOCRATES. Orationes et Epistolæ. [t.p. mut.] [1557.] 0.50. Inscribed "Nathaniel Mather . . . 23^d 2^d m^o 1661"; "Cottonus Ma[therus] dono patris charissi[mi]."; "John Foster His Book An Dom 1663"; "S. Matheri, 1760."
- Isocrates. Parænesis. London, 1699. 0.25. Inscribed "Increase Mather's Book 1706"; "Samuelis Matheri Liber 1744."; "Wm Clarke."
- ITTERUS, JOHANNES CHRISTIANUS. De Honoribus sive Gradibus Academicis. Frankfurt, 1685. 0.50. Inscribed "I. Mather. London, November 19, 1691. Cost 5 s of ye [?]."

J

- JACCHAEUS, GILBERTUS. Primæ Philosophiæ. Cambridge, 1640. [t.p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed in I. Mather's hand "Incepi Oct. 2, 1676."
- JACKSON, RICHARD. Suddain Essay with desire to vindicate Christianity. London, 1635. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 19.]
- JAMES, THOMAS. Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture. London, 1688. 0.50. Inscribed "S. Mather's, 1746."
- JAMESON, WILLIAM. Cyprianus Isotimus. Edinburgh, 1705. 0.50. Inscribed "Matheri"; "Oculatissimi Autharis Donum."
- Jameson, William. Nazianzeni querela et votum justum: the Fundamentals of the Hierarchy examin'd. Glasgow, 1697. 0.30. Autograph of "I. Mather."
- Jameson, William. Roma Racoviana et Racovia Romana. Edinburgh, 1702. 0.34. Inscribed "Matheri"; "Authoris Donum."
- JEANES, HENRY. Mixture of Scholasticall Divinity with Practicall, Oxford, 1656-60. 2v. 1.50. Inscribed, Vol. 1, "Lege Intellige vive: J. B. Pret: Lond: 2 Vol. 10^{sh} 1667."; "Matheri." Vol. 2, "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1663"; "Lege, Intellige, vive. J. B. Pret. Lond: 2. Vol. 10 sh. 1667—Sterl."
- JENKYN, WILLIAM. Exodus: Sermon, Sept. 12, 1675. Death of Lazarus Seaman, London, 1675. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.]
- JERMIN, MICHAEL. Commentary upon Ecclesiastes. London, 1639. 1.75. Inscribed "Matheri."
- Jews Jubilee; or the Conjunction and Resurrection of the Dry Bones of the House of Israel. London, 1688. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.] Inscribed "For [Mr. Mather at . . .] in [Apthall] Court, in Throgmorton Street."
- JOHNSON, SAMUEL. Second Five Years' Struggle against Popery. London, 1689. 0.50. Inscribed "I. Mather. London June 24, 1689. ex dono Authoris."; S. Mather's. 1742."

- JON, FRANCOIS DU, (JUNIUS). Opera Theologica. Vol. 2, Geneva, 1613. 8.00. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber."
- JOUBERT, LAURENT. De Peste. Lugduni, 1567. 0.50. Inscribed "Matheri."
- JOVIUS, PAULUS. [Historiarum temporis, 1552.] [t. p. w.] 1.00. Judgment of Foreign Reformed Churches, concerning the Rites of the Church of England. London, 1690. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.]
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- Judicium Discretionis; or a Just Apology for the Peoples Judgement of Private Discretion. London, 1667. 0.25. Inscribed "William Goodnough Liber"; "Wm. Davis."
- JUVENAL, DECIMUS JUNIUS. Satyrae. London, 1716. 0.34. Inscribed "R. Auchmuty 1774."; "W. Witmore's, 1780."

K

- KEITH, GEORGE. Christian Catechisme. London, 1698. [Bd. with *his* True Christ, 1679.]
- Keith, George. Short Christian Catechisme. London, [n. d.] [Bd. with *his* True Christ, 1679.]
- Keith, George. True Christ owned. [n. p.], 1679.
- Keith, George. Vindication from the Forgeries of Hick and Kiffin. [n. p.], 1674. [Bd. with *his* True Christ, 1679.]
- KING, WILLIAM. Essay on the Origin of Evil. Tr. by E. Law. Vol. 1, 2ed., London, 1732. 2.00. Inscribed "Mather."
- KIRCHER, ATHANASIUS. Scrutinium Physico-Medicum Contagiosæ quæ dicitur Pestis. Lipsiae, 1659. 0.25. Inscribed "Crescentius Mather."
- KNOLLES, RICHARD. Turkish History. Continuation by Sir Paul Rycaut. 6ed., London, 1687. 2 Vols. 6.00. Inscribed, Vol. I. "Samuel Mathers. 17[?]" ; "John Perkins"; Vol. 2, "Samuel Mathers's Book. 1744."
- KNOLLYS, HANSERD. Exposition of the 11th Chap. of Revelation. [n. p.], 1679. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]
- Knollys, Hanserd. Mystical Babylon Unveiled. [n. p.], 1679. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]
- Knolly's Hanserd. Parable of the Kingdom of Heaven Expounded. London, 1674. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 1.] Autograph of "Bety Mather."
- KNOX, JOHN. Answer to a Great Number of Blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist. [t. p. mut., Tracts, Pam. v. 741.] 0.75.

L

- L., J. Illumination to Sion College. London [?] [t. p. mut., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.]
- [L., N.] Letter from a Minister in the Country, to a Member of the Convocation. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- L'ABBE, PETRUS. Elogia sacra. Colonia, 1686. 0.75. Autographs of "Cn. Matheri"; "S. Matheri, 1726."

- LAET, JEAN DE. *Commentarium de Galliae*. Leyden, 1629. 0.50.
- Laet, Jean de. [*De Republica Atheniensivm*. Laconvm, 1633.] [t. p. w.] 0.50.
- Laet, Jean de. [*Descriptio Belgicæ*. Leyden, 1633.] [t. p. w.] 0.50.
- Laet, Jean de. [*Descriptio Persiæ*. Leyden, 1633.] [t. p. w.] 0.50.
- Laet, Jean de. [*Descriptio Poloniæ*. Leyden, 1633.] [t. p. w.] 0.50.
- Laet, Jean de. *Hispania*. Leyden, 1629. 0.50.
- LAKE, ARTHUR. [*Moralitié of the 4th Commandment*. London.] [t. p. w.] 0.30.
- LANGE, JOACHIM. *Cavssa Dei et Religionis Judæis Revelatæ*. Halæ Saxonom, 1726. [t. p. mut.] 0.75.
- LANGE, JOSEPH. *Florilegii Magni sev Polyantheæ*. *Floribvs Novissimis Sparsæ*. Lyons, 1648. 4.00. Inscribed "Mather."
- LATIUS, JOANNES. *De Pelagianis et Semipelagianis, Commentariorum*. Hardervici, 1617. [Bd. with St. Polycarpi ad Philippenses, 1653.] Inscribed "*Crescentius Matherus*"; "*R. Widdrington*."
- LAUDER, ALEXANDER. *Ancient Bishops consider'd*. Edinburgh, 1707. 0.50. Inscribed "Mather's"; "*S. Mather's, 1737*."
- LAURENTIUS, JACOBUS. *Catechesis Heidelbergensis Orthodoxa*. Amsterdam, 1625. 0.50.
- LAURENTIUS, JACOBUS. *Epistola Catholica, perpetuo Commentario explicata*. Amsterdam, 1635. 0.75. Autograph of "S. Matheri, 1746."
- Laurentius, Jacobus. *Invicta Veritas*. Amsterdam, 1627 [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "*Cottoni Matheri Liber 1682*."
- LAVATER, LUDWIG. [*Homilies on Ezekiel*. Zurich.] [t. p. w.] 1.50.
- LAWSON, GEORGE. *Magna Charta Ecclesiæ Universalis*. 3ed., London, 1687. 0.25.
- LECT, JACQUES. *Orationes*. Geneva, 1615. 0.34. [t. p. mut.] Inscribed "*Cottoni Matheri Liber 1682*."
- LEE, SAMUEL. *Ecclesia Gemens*. London, 1677. [Bd. with Fletcher's *Israel Redux*, 1677.]
- [*Lege Dei in Genere*. Mentz, 1580.] [t. p. w.] 0.34.
- LEIGH, EDWARD. *Critica Sacra*. London, 1641. 1 25. Inscribed "*Cottonus Matherus, 1679*."
- LENCIUS, JOANNES BAPTISTA. *Observationes Politicæ*. Argentinæ, 1606. 0.25.
- LEO, JOHANNES. [*De Africæ Descriptione*. Leyden, 1632.] [t. p. w., 2v. in 1.] 0.50.
- LESLEY, JOHN. *Epithrence; or, Voice of Weeping*. London, 1631. 0.50.
- LESSIUS, LEONARDUS. *De Symmo Bono et Æterna Beatitvdine Hominis*. Antwerp, 1616. 0.75. Inscribed "Matheri"; "*ad astra p aspera S. Willard*." "*2^s-6^d*."
- Letter concerning a French Invasion to restore King James. London, 1692. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- Letter from a Dissenter in the City to a Dissenter in the Country. 2ed., London, 1710. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 3.]

- [Letter from a Member of Parliament. London, 1705.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- Letter from some Non conforming Ministers, Touching Reasons of their Practice. London, 1701. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 6.] Inscribed "Math-eri."
- Letter of Advice to the Churches of the Non Conformists in the English Nation. London, 1700. 0.25. Inscribed "Mather."
- Letter to a member of the House of Commons concerning the Bishops in the Tower. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.]
- LEY, JOHN. New Quere, and Determination upon it, by Saltmarsh, examined. London, 1646. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 14.]
- LITTLETON, THOMAS. Tenures in [Englysche.] [t. p. mut.] 0.40. Inscribed "Mehetable Warren Her Booke 1680."
- LOBB, STEPHEN. True Dissenter. [London], 1685. 0.34. Inscribed "Increase Mathers Booke"; "Sam. Mather's 1730."
- [LOCKHART, GEORGE.] Memoirs concerning the Affairs of Scotland. London, 1714. 1.00. Inscribed "Written by Mr. Lockhart My P Whartons Nephew."
- L'Ordinaire de la Sainte Messe en François. Rochelle, 1682. [t. p. mut.] 0.25.
- LORINUS, JOHANNES. In Catholicas tres B. Ioannis et duas Bs Petri Epistolas Commentarii. Cologne, 1610. [t. p. mut.] 1.50. Inscribed "E Libris Elnath: Chauncey"; "Matheri."
- Love of Ovr Lord and Saviovr Jesvs Christ. [London], 1522. 0.50. Inscribed "Mather."
- LUBBERT, SIBRAND. De Ecclesia Libri Sex. Franckerae, 1607. 0.40. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus 1661."
- LUDLOW, EDMUND. Letter to Hollingworth. Amsterdam, 1692. [Bd. with Hist. of the Kings of Eng., 1692.] Inscribed "Math[er]."
- Ludlow, Edmund. Letter to Sir E. S. Amsterdam, 1691. [Bd. with Hist. of the Kings of Eng., 1692.] Inscribed in I. Mather's hand "The true Author, I am told, was one Mr. Perceval, a Lawyer."
- Ludlow, Edmund. Truth brought to Light: in Letter to Hollingworth. London, 1693. [Bd. with Hist. of King of Eng., 1692.]
- LUZANCY, HIPPOLYTUS DE. Sermon, in the Savoy, July 11, 1675, on the Day of his Abjuration. 2ed., London, 1676. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 16.]
- LYCOSTHENES, CONRAD. Apophthegmata. Genevæ, 1668. 0.50. Inscribed, "Cottonus Matherus, 1673"; "Samuel Math"; "Nathaniel Mather."

M

- MACCOVIUS, JOHANNES. Distinctiones et Regulæ Theologicæ Philosophicæ. Franequere, 1653. 0.34. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber, 1682"; "Samuel Mather's Book 1724."
- Maccovius, Johannes. Loci Commvnes Theologici. Amsterdam, 1658. 1.00. Inscribed "John Hancock his Book. 29: October: 1691."

- Maccovius, Johannes. *Metaphysicæ*. Leyden, 1650. [t. p. mut.] 0.40. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus." Mai. 2, 1656"; "Incepi. Sept. 25. Fin. Oct. 31, 1676"; Also in group,, signatures of "Eleazarus Matherus, Crescentius Matherus, Cottonus Matherus."
- MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLO. *Princeps*. [n. p.], 1595. 1.00. Inscribed "Matheri."
- MACROPEDIUS, GEORGIUS. [Epistolica.] [t. p. w.] 0.12. Inscribed "Gulielmus Ellison"; "Crocker."
- MAGNI, JOHN ANTHONY. *Geographiæ, tum veteris, tum Novæ*. Amheim, 1617. 2v. in 1. 3.00.
- Magna Charta, cum Statutis, tum Antiquis. London, 1602. 0.50. Autographs of "I. Mather"; "Richardus Parker;" Numerous manuscript notes in R. Parker's hand.
- MAIER, MICHEL. *Tractatus de luci Arborea*. Frankfort, 1619. 0.25. Inscribed "1668, fuit Domini S. Lee Liber"; "S. Matheri."
- MALBON, SAMUEL. *Death and Life*. London, 1669. 0.25.
- MALDONAT, JOHN. [Commentariorum in Quatuor Evangelistas. Mentz, 1611.] [t. p. w.] 3.00. Inscribed "Increase Mather 1753."
- Manifest and Briefe Discovery of the Errours in Dialogue called the Marrow of Moderne Divinity. London, 1646. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 14.]
- MANNINGHAM, THOMAS. *Sermon before the Queen, 17th Feb., Day of Thanksgiving*. London, 1709. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.] Inscribed "Bromfield."
- MANTON, THOMAS. *Practical Commentary on the Epistle of James*. London, 1651. 1.00. Inscribed "Samuelis Matheri Liber Londini November 22, 1689."
- MARISIUS, SAMUEL. *Dissertatio de Antichristo*. Amstelodami, 1640. 0.40. Inscribed "1674 May, 29"; "91."
- Marriages of Cousin Germans vindicated. Oxford, 1673. 0.34. Inscribed "Matheri."
- MARSHALL, STEPHEN. *Works*. London, 1661. 0.50. Inscribed "Tho. Shepard's Book, May 19, 1670"; "Matheri." Also, in T. Shepard's hand "This Author was called Thundring Marshall from his way and manner of delivery."
- Martyrologe Romain, Mis en lumière par le Commandement du Pape Gregoire XIII. Lyons, 1681. 1.00. Autograph of "S. Matheri." [Massachusetts, or the First Planters of New England. Boston, 1696.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 2.]
- MATHER, COTTON. *Right Way to shake off a Viper*. London, 1711. 0.25.
- MATHER, RICHARD. *Answer of the Elders of the Churches in New England unto Nine Propositions, sent over to them by Ministers in England*. London, 1643.
- MATHER, SAMUEL. *Discourse concerning the Necessity of Believing the Doctrine of the Trinity*. London, 1719. 0.50. Inscribed "Matheri."

- MAYER, JOHN. *Ecclesiastica Interpretation: on the Expositions vpon the Seuen Epistles called Catholike*. London, 1627. 0.75. Inscribed "I Mather London. March. 19. 16[69]."
- Mayer, John. *English Catechisme Explained*. 5ed., London, 1635. 0.75.
- Mayer, John. *Praxis Theologica*. London, 1629. 1.00. Inscribed "Matheri."
- MAYO, RICHARD. *Sermon on the Death of Lady Diana Ashhurst*, Aug. 24th, 1707. London, 1708. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- MEDE, JOSEPH. *Works*. London, 1664. 2 Vols. 6.00. Vol 1. inscribed "Samuel Mathers Book 1733."
- MEISNER, BALTHAZAR. *Anthropologias Sacræ*. Montisbeligardi, 1619. 3 v. in 1. 2.00. Inscribed "E'libris Eln: Chauncey."; "Matheri."
- Meisner, Balthazar. *Meditationes in Evangelia Festivavitm Annuarem*. Argentinae, 1626. 0.50. Inscribed "E'Libris E. Chauncey."
- Meisner, Balthazar. *Meditationes sacræ in Evangelia Dominicalia*. Argentinae, 1626. 0.50. Inscribed "Eln. ch."
- MELANCTHON, PHILIP. *Chronicon Carionis*. Wittemberg, 1617. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "E'libris E. Chauncey."
- Melius Inquirendum, or Sober Inquirrie into the Serious Inquire. [n. p.], 1678. 0.50. Inscribed "Mather." MS. index in S. Mather's hand.
- Men before Adam. London, 1656. 0.75. Inscribed "Ben. Thompson me jure tenet."
- MERCIER, JEAN. [Commentarii in Librum Job. Leyden, 1651.] [t. p. w.] 2.50.
- METENSUS, PAULUS FERRIAS. *Scholastici Orthodoxi Specimen*. Gotstadii, 1616. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "S. Matheri. 1759."; "Crescentius [Math]erus."
- MICRAELIUS, JOHANN. *Lexicon Philosophicum*. Jenæ, 1653. 1.50. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber."; "Thomæ Matheri Ejus Liber Anno domini 1753."
- MIDDLETON, PATRICK. *Dissertation upon the Power of the Church*. London, 1733. 0.50.
- MILTON, JOHN. *EIKONOKLASTES*, in Answer to Eikon Basilike. London, 1690. 0.40. Inscribed "S. Mather's, 1745."
- Modern Pleas for Schism and Infidelity Reviewed. 2ed., London, 1717. 0.50. Inscribed "S. Mather's, 1747."
- Modest Apology. By a Minister of the Gospel. [n. p.], 1701. 0.25. Inscribed "Sam^l. Mathers Book. 1724."; "Cost 1/3 This Book boughtt by James Grant 19 off March 1706."
- MOLINAEUS, LUDWIG. *Oratio Avspicalis*. Oxoniae, 1652. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.]
- MOLINOS, MIGUEL. *Spiritual Guide*. London, 1688. 0.34. Inscribed "S. Mather's 1731."
- MOLYNEUX, WILLIAM. *Sciothericum Telesopicum*. Dublin, 1686. 0.20. Inscribed "I. Mather"; "S. Mather's. 1735."

- Moral Practice of the Jesuites. By the Doctors of the Sorbonne. London, 1670. 0.40. Inscribed "Coltonus Matherus 1680."
- MORE, HENRY. Exposition of the Seven Epistles to the Seven Churches. London, 1669. 0.50. Inscribed "S. Matheri. 1736."
- MORE, Sir THOMAS. Epigrammata. London, 1638. 0.34. Autograph of "Sam^l. Mather."
- MORGAN, JOSEPH. [Letter to Authors of Observations on Presbyterian Doctrine of Election & Reprobation. New London, 1724.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 2.] Inscribed "Saml. Mather 1724."
- MORGAN, JOSEPH. Portsmouth Disputation examined. New York, 1713. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 2.]
- MORGAN, THOMAS. Collection of Tracts, relating to the Right of Private Judgment. London, 1726. 1.00. Inscribed "S. Mather's. 1732."
- MORNAY, PHILIP. De Veritate Religionis Christianæ. Herbomæ Nassoviorum, 1632. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber"; "Samuel Mather's Book. 1724"; "Johd Wilson"; "E Libris Wenslii Hobby."
- Morning Exercises against Popery. London, 1675. 3.00. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber. 1683." Names of ministers in C. Mather's hand.
- Morning-Exercise, Continuation of. London, 1683. Names of ministers at beginning of each sermon in C. Mather's hand.
- MORTON, THOMAS. De Pace Inter Evangelicos procuranda Sententiæ. London, 1638. 0.10. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "S. Mathers. 1739."
- MOSAN, JACOB. General Practise of Physick. London, 1654. [t. p. mut.] 2.00
- MOSSOM, ROBERT. Plant of Paradise. Sermon at funeral of J. G. Holt. London, 1660. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.]
- Most useful Sermon Preached in London. Aug. 7, 1670. [n. p.], 1671. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 1.]
- MURET, MARC ANTOINE. Orationes. Paris, 1588. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "John Miller his booke 1626"; "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1682"; "S. Matheri Liber 1750."
- MUSARUS, PETRUS. De Fugiendo Syncretismo. Kiloni, 1690. 0.75.
- Mystery of Iniquity working in the dividing of Protestants. By a Protestant and true English-man. [n. p.], 1689. [Bd. with Hist. of Kings of Eng., 1692.]

N

- NACLANTIUS, JACOBUS. Scripturæ Medulla. [Venice, 1561.] [t. p. mut.] 0.75. Inscribed "S. Matheri. 1764."
- NAPIER, JOHN. Plaine Discovery of the whole Revelation of St. John. 5ed., Edinburgh, 1645. 0.25. Inscribed "Cottono Mathero hunc Librum dedit f. Griffin—1683."
- NARY, CORNELIUS. [Letter to the Arch Bishop of Tuam, respecting the Catholick Church. London.] [t. p. w.] 0.25.

- National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant. [n. p.] 1712. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- NEVILLE, ROBERT. Absolute and Peremptory Decree of Election to Eternal Glory Reprobated. London, 1682. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.]
- NEWCOMEN, MATTHEW. Duty of such as would walke worthy of the Gospel. London, 1646. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.] Inscribed "Tho. She[pard's] book. 16[?]"
- Nipotismo Roma: or, History of the Pope's Nephews. Written in Italian, 1667, and Englished by W. A. London, 1669. 0.25. Inscribed "S. Matheri."
- Nonconformists Vindicated. By a Country Scholar. 8vo. London, 1679. 0.34. Inscribed "Matheri."
- NORRIS, CHARLES. Dialogue between Dr. Sherlock, Dean of Chichester, and Dr. Sherlock, Master of the Temple. London, 1718. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 7.] Inscribed "Ma[ther]".
- NORTON, JOHN. Responsio ad Totam Quæstionum Sylogen à G. Apollonio. London, 1648. 0.27. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber"; "W B"; "Thomas Brattle, ejus liber 21 (7)76. Statit 18."
- Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres. July—Dec., 1685. Par le Sieur B. Amsterdam, 1685. 0.50.
- Nudimenta Fidei Christianæ, sive Catechismvs. [t. p. mut.] 0.34.
- NYE, PHILIP. Best Fence against Popery. London, 1686. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]

O

- OCLAND, CHRISTOPHER. Anglorvm Prælia ab anno Domini, 1327. London, 1582. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "Richardus Matherus. Februarii 28. Anno 1614."; "Sam. Mather."
- OMPHALIUS, JACOB. [De Elocutionis Imitatione ac apparatu. 1572.] [t. p. w.] 0.34. Inscribed "S. Matheri, 1758"; "By me Joseph Saunders his Hand and his Booke Amen."
- OSBORN, FRANCIS. Miscellany of sundry Essayes. London, 1659. 0.34. Inscribed "Thomas."
- OSIANDER, JOHN ADAM. Dissertatio de Jubliæo Ebræorum Christianorum Academicorum. Tubingæ, 1677. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri. Liber. Londini. 1690."
- Overthrow of Stage Playes. Middleburgh, 1600. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 11.]
- OVIDIUS, PUBLIUS, NASSO: [Metamorphoses.] [t. p. w.] 0.40. Inscribed "Cotton Mather his Book 1722"; "Increase Mather 1754"; "S. Mather His Book."
- OWEN, CHARLES. Plain Dealing or Separation without Schism. 4ed., London. [n. d.] [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.]
- OWEN, JOHN. Brief Instruction in the Worship of God. [London], 1667. 0.34.
- Owen, John. Diatriba de Justitia Divina. London, 1653. 0.40. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber 168 $\frac{5}{8}$."

- Owen, John. Discourse concerning Evangelical Love. London, 1672. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Samuel Mather's Book, 1723."
- Owen, John. Exercitationes on the Epistle to the Hebrews. London, 1668. 3.00. Inscribed "Saml. Mather's Book. 1734."
- Owen, John. Of Schisme, the True Nature of it Discovered. Oxford, 1657. 0.50. Autographs of "Johannis Cottoni"; "Cottoni Math-
eri."
- Owen, John. Vindication of the Animadversions on Fiat Lux. London, 1664. 0.50. Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Book."
- OXFORD, WILLIAM, Lord Bp. of. Sermon at Coronation of King George. London, 1714. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 8.]

P

- Pacquet of Advices and Animadversions Sent from London to the Men of Shaftsbury. London, 1676. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.]
- PAGET, JOHN. Defence of Church-Government exercised in Presbyteriall Assemblies. London, 1641. 0.75.
- PAGIT, EPHRAIM. Christianographie, or Christians in the World, not subject to the Pope. 2ed., London, 1636. 1.00. Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Book. 1723"; "Crescentius Matherus."
- PALMER, SAMUEL. Sermon 19 Jan. 1703-4, a day of Fasting. London, 1704. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- Parebolæ Excerpta è Corpore Statutorum Universitatis Oxoniensis. Oxoniæ, 1674. 0.25. Autograph of "I. Mather."
- PAREUS, DAVID. [Catechesis Religionis Christianæ. Heidelberg, 1622.] [t. p. w.] 1.00.
- Pareus, David. Collegiorum Theologicorum. Heidelberg, 1611. 0.50. Inscribed, "Sam. Mather."; "M. B."
- PAREUS, DAVIDUS. De Potestate Ecclesiastica et Civili. 2ed., Frankfort, 1633. 0.50. Autograph of "Crescentius Matherus."
- Pareus, Davidus. Irenicum. Heidelberg, 1614. 0.75. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus Liber."
- Pareus, Davidus. Opervm Theologicorvm. Venice, 1628. 6.00.
- PARKER, ROBERT. Scholastical Discovrse against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies. [London], 1607. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "Nathaniel Cutler his Booke. 1661."; "Samuel Braken-bury His Booke. 1663"; "Samuel Mather's Book 1724."
- PARKER, THOMAS. Parkerus illustratus. Ab authore Philo Tileno. London, 1660. 0.25.
- PARSONS, ROBERT. Sermon at Funeral of John, Earl of Rochester. Oxford, 1680. [t. p. mut., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.]
- PATIENT, THOMAS. Doctrine of Baptism. London, 1654. [English Tracts, Vol. 12.] Inscribed "1^s 3^d,"
- [Pedantius, Comoedia.] [t. p. w.] 0.20.
- PEIRCE, JAMES. Curse causeless. Sermon, Exon. Jan. 30, 1716-17. London, 1717. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 7.]

- Peirce, James. Some Considerations on the 6th Chapter of the Abridgement of London Cases. London, 1708. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 5.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- PELEGROM, SIMON. *Synonymorum Sylva*. London, 1650. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus. His book: 1681"; "Cotton Mather dedit pater"; "Nathanaelis Matheri Liber 1683"; "Samuel Mather His Book 1685"; "Tho. Mather."
- PELLISON-FONTANIER, PAUL. *History of the French Academy*. London, 1657. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus, 1676." 0.40.
- PEMBLE, WILLIAM. *Briefe introduction to Geography*. Oxford, 1630. [Bound with *his Vindiciæ Fidei*, 1629.]
- Pemble, William. *Enchiridion Oratorium*. Oxford, 1633. [Bound with *his Vindiciæ Fidei*, 1629.]
- Pemble, William. *Five Godly and Profitable Sermons*. 2ed., Oxford, 1629. [Bound with *his Vindiciæ Fidei*, 1629.]
- Pemble, William. *Fruitfull Sermon on 1 Cor. 15, 18, 19*. London, 1629. [Bound with *his Vindiciæ Fidei*, 1629.]
- Pemble, William. *Introduction to the Worthy receiving the Sacrament of the Lords Supper*. London, 1629. [Bound with *his Vindiciæ Fidei*, 1629.]
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- Pemble, William. *Vindiciæ Fidei, or Treatise of justification by Faith*. 2ed., Oxford, 1629. Inscribed "Liber Richardi Mather."
- Pemble, William. *Vindiciæ Gratia. A plea for Grace*. 2ed., London, 1629. [Bound with *his Vindiciæ Fidei*, 1629.]
- Pemble, William. *Works*. 4ed., Oxford, 1659. 2.00.
- PENNINGTON, JOHN. *People called Quakers cleared by G. Keith from False Doctrines*. London, 1696. [Bd. with *Keith's True Christ*, 1679.]
- PERERIUS, BENEDICTUS. *Commentariorvm in Genesim*. 3 Vols. Lyons, 1596-1602. [Vols. 1, 3 and 4.] 6.00.
- PEZELIUS, CHRISTOPH. [Theology. Saxony, 1582.] [t. p. w.] 0.40.
- Phenix, or the Solemn League and Covenant. Edinburgh, [1651.] 0.34. Inscribed "Mather."
- PINET, ANTOINE DU. *La Conformite des Eglises Reformees de France*. Lyons, 1564. [Bd. with F. Duarenus, *De Sacris Ecclesiæ*, 1564.]
- PISCATOR, JOHANN. *Expositio Capitvm Catecheseos Religionis Christianæ*. London, 1603. 0.34.

- PITISCUS, BARTHELEMY. *Meletemata Psalmica*. Frankfort, 1616.
1.25. Inscribed "Ex Libris Samøelis Oliver Pr. 5^{as}. Ex dono
Johannis Hippilsey"; "Crescentius Matherus."
- Platform of Church Discipline, Agreed upon by the Synod at Cambridge,
New England, 1649. Cambridge, N. E., 1649. Autograph of
"I. Mather."
- Platform of Church Discipline. Printed in N. E., reprinted in London,
1653. Autograph of "I. Mather."
- PLAUTUS, MARCUS ACCIUS. *Comœdiæ XX*. Basiliæ, 1523. 3.00. In-
scribed "Joannis Esmondi J. E. D. D."; "Crescentius Matherus,
1660"; "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1679."
- PLINY, CAIUS CECILIUS SECUNDUS. *Panegyricus*. Oxford, 1662. 0.25.
Inscribed "E Libris Joha. Westley Aug. 1671"; "Nathaniell Crynes.
His Booke 1678"; "Samuelis Matheri Liber. 1726. ꝑ legi, S. M.";
"Per legi M. Byles."
- Plotters Doom. Sermon upon the late Hellish Plots. By a Sincere
Protestant. London, 1680. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- POLANUS, AMANDUS. In *Danielem Prophetam Visionum*. Basiliæ,
1599. 1.50.
- POLHILL, EDWARD. *Discourse of Schism*. London, 1694. Inscribed
"Samuel Mather's Book. 1724."
- POLYCARP, St. *Ad Phillippenses Epistolai*. edidit J. J. Maders. Helmes-
tadi, 1653. Inscribed "June 19, 1654. 0:5:0"; "Crescentius
Matherus Liber"; "S. Matheri, 1731."
- PORTEUS, JOHANNES BAPTISTA. [*Hvmana Physiognomonía*.] [t. p. w.]
0.25. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1679"; "Guilielmus Snell-
ing."
- Porteus, Johannes Baptista. *Magiæ Naturalis*. Leyden, 1651. [t.
p. mut.] 0.50. Autograph of "S. Matheri, 1750."
- POSSELIUS, JOHANNES. *Familiarium Colloquiorum Libellus*. London,
1681. 0.20. Inscribed "Andover Wm. Sanford 1711"; Roland
Cotton jun^r His Book 1726."
- Pretences of the French Invasion Examined. London, 1692. [Eng.
Tracts, Vol. 18.]
- PRIDEAUX, JOHN. *Manvðvetio ad Theologiam Polemicam*. Oxoniæ,
1657. 0.25. Inscribed "Lege, Intellige, vive. J. B. Pret. Lond.
00., 01., 00."
- Prideaux, John. *Viginti-duæ Lectiones de Totidem Religiones Capitibvs*.
3ed., Oxford, 1648. 2.00. Autograph of "C. Matheri."
- PRIDEAUX, MATTHIAS. *Easy and Compendious Introdvetion for Read-
ing all sorts of Histories*. 4ed., Oxford, 1664. 0.75. Inscribed
"Samuel Mather's Book 1727." Has also bookplate "Samuel
Mather his Book, 1752."
- Providence of God observed through Several Ages. [t. p. mut.] [Bd.
with Hist. of the Kings of Eng., 1692.] Inscribed "Mather."
- PRUCKNERUS, ANDREAS. [*De Æquo Disputatore*.] [t. p. w.] 0.34.
Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber Londini, Jany. 3, 1689."

- PRYNNE, WILLIAM. [Gospel Plea, for the Lawfullness and Continuance of the Antient *settled Maintenance* and *Tithes* of the Ministers of the Gospel. 2 pts., London, 1653-9.] [t. p. w.] 0.75. Inscribed "Increase Mather's Book Given to him by Dr. Thomas Mather 1751."
- Prynne, William. *Histrio-Mastix*. London, 1633. 1.25. Inscribed "Cotton Mather." Also "For this work the Author was imprisoned and grievously censured though licensed by authority."
- Prynne, William. [Short Vindication of Four Questions concerning Excommunication and Suspension from the Sacrament.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.]
- Prynne, William. *Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes*. London, 1643. 1.00. Autograph of "Wm. Fry."
- Prynne, William. *Ten Considerable Quarries concerning Tithes*. London, 1659. [Bound with *his Gospel Plea*, 1659.]
- Publick Dispute touching Infant-Baptism, 5 Sept., 1653. London, 1654. 0.25. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber. 1684"; "Ex Libris Joannis Elphinstonii Edenburgi 24 . . . Emptns. 1657."
- PUTEANUS, ERYCIUS. *De Cometa Anni 1618*. Coloniae, 1619. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber. Londini. June 3. 1649."
- PYKE, JOSEPH. *Impartial View of the principal Difficulties that affect the Trinitarian*. London, 1721. Inscribed "Matheri"; "pro Authoris patre."
- PYROTECHNICA LOYOLANA. *Ignatian Fire-works*. By a Catholick-Christian. London, 1667. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 16.]

Q

- QUAERENGUS, FLAVIUS. *Institutionum Moraliū Epitome*. Leyden, 1639. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Samuelis Matheri Liber Londini 1690."
- Questions between the Conformist and Nonconformist truly stated. London, 1681. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 20.]
- QUINTILIANUS, MARCUS FABIVS. *Declamationum*. Basiliae, 1557. 0.50.
- Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius. *Oratoriarum institutionum libri XII*. Basiliae, 1555. 2.00. Autograph of "S. Mather."

R

- R., J. *Spirits Touchstone*. London, 1657. 0.34.
- RAINOLDS, JOHN. *De Romanæ Ecclesiæ Idololatria*. Oxoniæ, 1596. 1.50. Inscribed "Richardus Matherus"; "Chris. Weste." Ex libris "Sum Wallisii," changed by pen to "Matheri."
- Rainolds, John. *Orationes*. London, [1620]. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1682."
- RAMSÆUS, THOMAS. *Elogium felicitatis Britanniae sub auspiciis Gulielmi III*. London, 1690. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.]

- RAMSAY, JOHN. Sermon to Protestants of Ireland, Oct. 23, 1713, Day of Thanksgiving. 4ed., London, 1714. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 7.]
- RAMUS, PETRUS. *Arithmetica et Geometria*, Frankfort, 1627. [t. p. mut.] 1.00.
- Ramus, Petrus. *Commentariorum de Religione Christiana*. Frankfort, 1594. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber. 1682"; "S. Matheri 1755."
- Ramus, Petrus. *Dialectica*. Cantabrigia, 1672. 0.20. [A non-Mather copy in library A. A. S.]
- Ramus, Petrus. *Prefationes, Epistolae, Orationes*. Paris, 1577. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus 1669."
- RANZOVIVS, HENRICUS. *Tractatus Astrologievs*. Frankfort, 1633. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "I. Matherus."
- RAVISIUS, JOANNES. *Epithetorum Epitome*. London, 1642. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1674"; "Samuel [?]" "John Quick Li."
- RAWLINSON, RICHARD. *New Method of studying History and Geography*. Vol. 2, London, 1730. 1.00. Inscribed "S. Mather's. 1732."
- Reasonable Account. *Why NonConforming Ministers judge it sinful for them to perform their Ministerial Acts by the prescribed forms of others*. London, 1679. 0.34. Inscribed "S. Matheri 1762"; "Dr. Collins Author."
- Reasons presented by the Dissenting Brethren against certain Propositions concerning Presbyteriall Government. London, 1648. 0.50.
- Reasons Showing Necessity of large and speedy Supplies to Government. London, 1691. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- REEB, GEORGIUS. *Distinctiones Philosophicae*. Colonia, 1630. 0.25. Inscribed "Samuelis Matheri liber."
- Reflections on that Discourse concerning Transubstantiation. By one of no Arts, but downright Honesty. London, 1676. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.]
- Reflections upon a theological distinction. [London], 1690. [Bound with Christian Virtuoso, 1690.]
- Reflections upon our late Proceedings in England. London, 1689. [t. p. mut.] [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- Reflections upon some Scandalous and Malicious Pamphlets. London, 1703. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.] Autograph of "Saml. Mather."
- Reflections upon the Occurrences of the last year. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.]
- Reformed Religion, or Right Christianity described. By a Protestant-Christian. London, 1689. 0.34. Inscribed "I. Mather. London. May 25, 1689."
- Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Coelum adversus Paricidas Anglicanos. 2ed., Hague, 1661. 0.34. Inscribed "Jo. Dove."
- REINHARDUS, —. *Quindecim Conciones Funebres*. Frankfort, 1564. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Mathers."

- Remarks upon Two Great Questions. Part II. London, 1701. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.] Inscribed "Mather."
- [Report to the Lords Justices of Ireland.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 6.] Inscribed "Matheri." "Cotton M[ather]."
- Representation of Prejudices that may Arise from an Act concerning Marriages. London, 1692. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.]
- REUSNER, NICHOLAS. Symbolorum Imperatoriorum. 6ed., Oxonii, 1638. Inscribed "Mather." 0.50.
- [Revelation the most Effectual Means of Civilizing Mankind. Sermon, before the Society in Scotland for Propogating Christian Knowledge.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 7.]
- REYNOLDS, EDWARD. Explication of the Hundreth and Tenth Psalme. 2ed., London, 1635. 1.00. Inscribed "Richard Mather his booke, given by Mr. Tho. Bishop."; "For my good Friend Mr. Richard Mather Pastor in Dorchester from Th. Bishop."
- Reynolds, Edward. Israels Prayer in Time of Trouble. London, 1645. 0.64. Inscribed "Richard Mather his booke, 1661."
- REYNOLDS, JOHN. Inquiries concerning the State and Oeconomy of the Angelical Worlds. London, 1723. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "Matheri,."
- REYNOLDS, THOMAS. Wisdom and Mercy of God. Discourse, Thanksgiving, Nov. 22, 1709. London, 1710. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.] Inscribed "Mather"; "Authoris Donum."
- RHODIGINUS, LUIGI RICHIERI (Cielius). Lectionvm Antiquarvm. Colloniæ Allobrogum, 1620. 3.00. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber."; "Samuelis Matheri Liber 1734."
- RIOLAN, JEAN. Opera Anitomica. Paris, 1649. 3.00. Inscribed "Joseph Pynchon, 1668."; "pret. 1¹—10⁴—0." "Cottoni Matheri Liber, 1683."
- Rituale, Romanum. Pauli V. Pontificis. Lugduni, 1686. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "I. Mather Londini 1691."; "S. Matheri, 1760."
- RIVET, ANDRÉ. Antidotum contra Pestem. Arnhemii, 1638. 0.34. Inscribed "Crescentius Matheri Liber."
- Rivet, André. Catholievvs Orthodoxvs, oppositus Catholico Papistæ. Leyden, 1630. 2 vols. 1.00. Inscribed, vol. 1, "Crescentii Matheri Liber 1639"; vol. 2, autograph of "S. Matheri."
- Rivet, André. Commentarii, in Librum secundum Mosis, qvi Exodus apud Græcos inscribitur. [Leyden 1633.] 1.50. Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Book"; "Samuel Mather hunc inter [?] nos cu[?] bros."
- Rivet, André. Commentarvis in Hoseam Prophetam. Leyden, 1625. 1.50. Autograph of "Crescentius Matherus."
- Rivet, André. Commentarius in Psalmorum Propheticoꝝ. Rotterdam, 1645. 1.50. Inscribed "Crescenti[us] Matherus 1662. Rotterdam."
- Rivet, André. Dispytationes Tredecim. Leyden, 1631. 0.50. Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Book, 1723."

- Rivet, André. *Prælectiones in Cap. XX Exodi.* 2ed., Leyden, 1637. 1.00.
- Rivet, André. *Theologicae et Scholasticae Exercitationes CXC.* Leyden, 1633. 2.00. Autographs of "Crescentius Matherus"; "Rich. Bellingham."
- ROBERTS, LEWIS. *Merchants Mappe of Commerce.* London, 1638. 1.75. Inscribed "Ezek. Price, 1769."
- ROBINSON, BENJAMIN. *Practical Improvement of Christmas Day.* London, 1707. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.] Inscribed "Matheri."
- ROBINSON, HUGH. *Scholæ Wintoniensis Phrases Latinae.* 5ed., London, 1667. 0.40. Inscribed "Samuel Mather, 1744."; "Increase Mather's Book, 1756."
- Robinson, Hugh. *Scholæ Wintoniensis Phrases Latinae.* 10ed., London, 1681. 0.12. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1682"; "S. Matheri, 1730."
- ROBINSON, RALPH. *Christ All in All.* 2ed., London, 1660. 1.25. Inscribed "lege, Intellige, Vive. J. B. Boston, pret. 0.5^d."
- ROSS, ALEXANDER. *Medicus Medicatus: or the Physicians religion cured.* London, 1645. [Bd. with T. Browne's *Religio Medici*, 1644.]
- ROUS, FRANCIS. *Oile of Scorpions.* London, 1623. 0.34. Inscribed "I. Mather"; "1. gn. empt. Lond."
- ROCKENBACH, ABRAHAM DE COMETIS. Wittenberg, 1602. 0.25.
- RUTHERFORD, SAMUEL. *Christ Dying and drawing Sinners to Himselfe.* London, 1647. 1.00.
- Rutherford, Samuel. *Influences of the Life of Grace.* London, 1659. 0.75.
- Rutherford, Samuel. *Lex, Rex: The Law and the Prince.* London, 1644. 0.75.
- Rutherford, Samuel. *Letters.* 3ed., [n. p.], 1675. 0.50. Inscribed "John Richards's Booke."
- Rutherford, Samuel. *Peaceable Plea for Pavls Presbyterie in Scotland.* London, 1642. 0.50.
- Rutherford, Samuel. *Sermon before the House of Lords, 25 day of June, 1645, the day for Solemne and Publique Humiliation.* London, 1645. [Bd. with *his Tryal and Triumph.* 1652.]
- Rutherford, Samuel. *Sermon preached to the House of Commons at their Fast, 1644.* London, 1644. [Bd. with *his Tryal and Triumph.* 1652.]
- Rutherford, Samuel. *Tryal and Triumph of Faith.* London, 1652. 0.50. Inscribed "Jo. Bailyes Book 2^s. 6^d—".

S

- SABUNDE, RAYMUNDUS DE. *Theologica Naturalis.* Frankfort, 1635. 0.75. Inscribed, "Crescentius Matherus"; "S. Matheri Liber 1738."
- SARUM, GILBERT, Ld. Bp. of. *Sermon, Salisbury, May 29, 1710.* London, 1710. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.]

- ST. DAVIDS, NICOLAS. Lord Bp. of. Sermon, May 3d, 1739, the Yearly Meeting of Children Educated in the Charity Schools. London, 1739. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.] Inscribed "S. Mather's, Rec'd. from Mrs. Newman by . . . Decbr. 1741."
- ST. JURE, JEAN BAPTISTE. Holy Life of M. De Renty. Translated by E. S. Gent. London, 1684. 0.75. Inscribed "Mather."
- SALGADO, JAMES. Symbiosis, or the Intimate Converse of Pope and Devil attended by a Cardinal and Buffoon. London, 1681. 0.20. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1683."
- SALLUST, CAIUS CRISPUS. Conjuratio Catilinæ. Geneva, 1626. 0.34. Inscribed "I. M."; "Joh. Olliver"; "Joseph Gerrish his booke 1668."
- SANNAZARIUS, JACOBUS. Opera omnia. [t. p. mut.] 0.17. Inscribed in Increase Mather's hand "David Dunster me jure tenet."
- Satan Sifting: or the Oyl of Joy for the Spirit of Heaviness. London, 1692.
- SCALIGERUS, JULIUS CAESAR. Exotericarvm Exercitationvm. Lyons, 1615. 2.00. Autograph of "S. Matheri."
- SCHIBLER, CHRISTOPHER. Philosophia Compendiosa. Oxoniæ, 1631. 0.34. Inscribed "Matheri"; "Ex dono Guil. Brearley Colt. Mag. Cantab."
- SCHICKHARD, WILHELM. Horologivm Hebræum. London, 1639. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Cottonus Matherus E. D. P. 1674."
- Schickard, Wilhelm. [Institutionum Linguæ Sanctæ.] [t. p. w.] 0.50. Inscribed "James Bayley's Writing 1716"; "Joshua Lamb His Book 1719"; "Samuel [Mather]"; "Daniel Perkins"; "John Frizell's Book"; "James Skinner"; "Amos Throop Liber"; "Edward Jackson."
- SCHONAEUS, CORNELIUS. Terentius Christianus. Cantabrigiæ, 1632. 0.34. Inscribed "Cottonus Matherus"; "E D P 1675"; "Nathanielis Matheri Liber 1680."
- SCHORUS, ANTONINUS. De Phrasibvs Lingvæ Latine. Basileæ, [1550.] [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "Nathanielis Matheri Liber 1682"; "Cottoni Matheri Liber"; "Samuelis Matheri Liber."
- SCHOTANUS, JOHANNIS. Exercitationes Academicæ. Franekqueræ, 1687. 0.34. Inscribed "S. Matheri, 1747."
- SCOTT, THOMAS. [God Save the King. Sermon. Cambridge, 1633.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 17.]
- Scripture truth confirmed and cleared. By a Minister of the Gospel. [n. p.], 1678. [Bd. with Faithfulness of God, 1674.]
- SCULTETUS, ABRAHAMUS. Concionvm in Isaiam Prophetam. Geneva, 1610. 1.00. Inscribed "Thomas Mather"; "S. Matheri, 1735."
- Second Part of the Growth of Popery. By Philo-Veritas [pseud.] Cologne, 1682. [Bd. with Hist. of the Kings of Eng., 1692.]
- SEIDELIUS, CASPARUS. Manuale Linguæ Græcæ Gnomologicum Novum. Schelusingæ, 1639. 0.25. Inscribed "Sam. Mather's Book 1717."

- SENNERT, ANDREAS. De Divino nomine Elohim. Witterbergæ, 1651. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 20.]
- [Sermon preached before the King and Queen.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- Sermons on the Death of Our Queen. Dublin, 1695. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 18.] Inscribed "Mather."
- SHAFTSBURY, ANTHONY, Earl of. Rawleigh Redivivus; or the Life and Death of Anthony, Earl of Shaftsbury. By Philanax Mispappas. London, 1683. 0.40. Inscribed "I. Mather."
- SHARROCK, ROBERT. De Officiis secundum Naturæ Jus. Oxoniæ, 1660. 0.50. Inscribed "Samuelis Matheri Liber, 1730."
- Sharrock, Robert. Judicia, De variis Incontinentiæ Speciebus. Oxoniæ, 1662. 0.50. Inscribed "Samuelis Matheri Liber, 1726."
- SHERLOCK, WILLIAM. Sermon before the House of Commons. January 30, 1691-2. London, 1692. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- Sherlock, William. Sermon before the Lord Mayor, Nov. 4, 1688. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- Short History of the Kings of England. London, 1692. Inscribed "Mather."
- SHOWER, JOHN. God's Thoughts & Ways far above Ours. London, 1699. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 6.]
- SIBBS, RICHARD. Brides Longing for her Bride-Groomes Second coming. London, 1638. 0.34. Inscribed "Samuel Mather His Book Ex dono patris honoratissimi anno 1683"; "Sarah Mather her Book"; "Sargeant."
- Sibbs, Richard. Saints Privilege. London, 1638. [Bound with *his* Brides Longing, 1638.]
- Sibbs, Richard. Soules Conflict with itselfe, and Victory over itself by Faith. 2ed., London, 1636. 0.50. Inscribed, "Samuel Mather's. 1766."
- SIMSON, ARCHIBALD. Hieroglyphica Animalivm Terrestrivm. Edinburgh, 1622. 0.50. Inscribed, "Crescentius Matherus"; "Cottonus Matherus, 1674"; "Nathaniel Mather 1681"; "Nathanael Matherus hoc Libro donavit Frater suus charissimus 1683."
- SINCLAIR, GEORGE. Truth's Victory over Error. Edinburgh, 1684. 0.25. Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Book."
- SMETHIUS, HENRICUS. Prosodia. Frankfort, 1630. 0.50. Inscribed "James Hanna Glasonensis Scotus."
- SMITH, THOMAS. De Græcæ Ecclesiæ Hodierno statu Epistola. Oxoniæ, 1676. 0.40. Inscribed "S. Matheri Liber, 1785."
- Sober Answer to the Friendly Debate, betwixt a Conformist and a Non-conformist. By Philagathus. London, 1669. 0.50. Inscribed "S. Matheri. 1748."
- SPENCER, JOHN. Discourse concerning Prodigies. 2ed., London, 1665. 0.40. Inscribed "I. Mather London, October 9, 1688, Cost 6s."; "S. Mather's 1743."
- SPENER, PHILIPP JACOB. De Natura et Gratia. Frankfort, 1715. 1.00. Inscribed "Samuelis Mathers Liber, 1724."

- Spes Fidelium or the Believer's Hope. By a Presbyter of the Church of England. London, 1795. 0.40. Inscribed "I. Mather."
- SPRINT, JOHN. Cassander Anglicanus: Shewing the Necessity of Conformitie to the prescribed Ceremonies of our Chvrch. London, 1618. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 17.]
- SPURSTOW, WILLIAM. Death and the Grave No Bar to Believers Happiness. Sermon at Funeral of Lady Vyner. London, 1656. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.]
- STAHLIUS, DANIEL. Regulæ Philosophicæ sub Titulis XXII. Comprehensæ. Oxoniæ, 1663. 0.50. Inscribed, "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1682."; "John Foster 1670"; "Checkley."
- Statuta Quædam Academiæ Cantabrigiæ. Cantabrigiæ, 1684. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 4.] Inscribed "Samuelis Matheri. Cantabrigiæ Janii. 27, 1689"; "S. Matheri. 1729."
- STEPHANIVS (JUNIVS). Vindiciæ Religionis. Paris, 1631. 0.34. Inscribed "C. Mather"; "S. Mather"; "Hubertus Languet fuit verus hujus Libri auctor. [v. vort. despue silve. vol. 4, p. 232 et.]"
- STIERIO, JOHANNE. [Pars Generalis Metaphysicæ.] [t. p. w.] [Bd. with Micrælius, Lexicon Philosophicum, 1653.]
- Stierio, Johanne. Præcepta Doctrinæ Sphæricæ. Gothæ, 1647. [Bd. with Micrælius, Lexicon Philosophicum, 1653.]
- Stierio, Johanne. Præcepta Ethicæ. 4ed., Jenæ, 1651. [Bd. with Micrælius, Lexicon Philosophicum, 1653.]
- Stierio, Johanne. Præcepta Logicæ Perpateticæ Ex Aristotele. 7ed., Erfurt, 1653. [Bd. with Micrælius, Lexicon Philosophicum, 1653.]
- STILLINGFLEET, EDWARD. Discourse concerning Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome. London, 1671. 0.34. Inscribed "Matheri."
- Stillingfleet, Edward, and Burnet, Gilbert. Relation of a Conference held about Religion, at London, 3d April, 1676. London, 1676. 0.40. Inscribed "Charles Lyttleton"; "D. Kimball 1803"; "Jos. Tuckerman, 1812."
- STOCKWOOD, JOHN. Disputatiuncularum. 6ed., Londini, 1650. 0.25. Autograph of "Tho Walley."
- STRIGIL, HIPPOLYT. Adversus commentationem ad loca de Antichristo. Amsterdam, 1640. [Bound with Mareseus, Dissertatio. 1640.]
- STROTHER, EDWARD. Pharmacopœia Practica. London, 1719. 0.40. Inscribed "S. Mather's. 1734"; "Thomas Mather Ejus Liber Anno Domini 1759."
- STUBBES, PHILLIP. Anatomie of Abvses. London, 1583. [Bd. with Knox's Adversarie, Tracts, Pam. vol. 741.] Inscribed "Wm. Jordan"; "Ann Ford her book."
- STUCLEY, LEWIS. Gospel Glass. London, 1670. 0.34.
- Supplement to a little book entitled, A Reasonable account, etc. London, 1680. [Bd. with Reasonable Account, 1679.]
- SYDENHAM, THOMAS. Observationes Medicæ. London, 1676. 1.00. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber—Augt. 26. 1679."; "Thomæ Matheri Liber 1752."

T

- T., G. [Introductio Generalis ad Universa Logices Elementa.] [t. p. w.] 0.34.
- TALENTONIUS, JOANNES. Variarum et Reconditarum Rerum. Frankfurt, 1605. [t. p. mut.] 0.75. Inscribed "S. Matheri, 1751."
- TAYLOR, FRANCIS. Capitula Patrum. London, 1651. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 20.] Inscribed "6^d. S. L. Julii 28 1652."
- TAYLOR, JEREMY. Discourse concerning Prayer Ex tempore. [n. p.], 1646. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 14.]
- TAYLOR, NATHANAEL. Doctor Sherlock's Cases and Letter of Church Communion considered. London, 1702. 0.40. Inscribed "C. Matheri"; also in C. Mather's hand after author's name "who died suddenly in 1702."
- TEELINCK, WILLIAM. Pauls Complaint against his Natural Corruption. London, 1621. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 12.] Autograph of "Richard Mather."
- TERENTIUS, PUBLIUS. Comœdiæ Sex. London, 1651. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Cottonus Matherus 1677."
- Theological System of Divinity. London, 1655. [Bd. with Men before Adam, 1656.]
- THESAURUS, EMANUEL. Patriarchæ, sive Christi Servatoris Genealogia. London, 1651. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Cottonus Mather."; "Samuel Mathers Book. 1722."
- Three Ministers Collections and Notions, touching Texts of Scripture. London, 1675. 0.34. Inscribed "Matheri."
- TILENUS, DANIEL. Exegesis aphoristica de Antichristo. 2ed., Amsterdam, 1611. [Bound with Mareseus, Dissertatio, 1640.]
- Tilenus, Daniel. Syntagmatis Duspvtationvm Theologicarvm in Academia. [t. p. mut.] 0.50.
- Tilenus, Daniel. Theologiæ Systema. Sedani, 1617. [t. p. mut.] 0.17.
- TILLOTSON, JOHN. Discourse against Transubstantiation. 3ed., London, 1685. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 22.]
- TIXIER, JEAN (Ravisius Texton). Officinæ. Geneva, 1626. 2v. in 1. 0.75. Inscribed "Nathanælis Matheri Liber 1682," "Cottonus Matherus his book."
- TOLL, ADRIAN. Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia. Leyden, 1636. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "Sam Mather Londini 1690."
- Toll, Adrian. Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia. 3ed., Leyden, 1647. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Co Math-
erius."
- TOLL, CORNELIUS. Pækèphati de Incredibilibus. London, 1656. 0.34. Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Book 1727."
- TOMPKINS, JOHN. [Great Duty of Prayer.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 2.]
- Tractatus de Regni Ecclesiæ Christum in terris erigendo. Amsterdam, 1657. 0.34.

- Treatise of Traditions. Part II. London, 1689. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 23.]
- TRELCAIUS, LUCAS. *Scolastica et Methodica Locorum Communium*. Frankfort, 1634. 0.34.
- Trinum Magicum, sive Secretorum Magicorum opvs. Frankfort, 1630. 0.50. Inscribed "I. Mather Boston 1691"; "S. Matheri, 1740."
- TROUGHTON, F. Letter to Friend touching God's Providence about Sinful Actions. London, 1691. 0.34.
- True Violations of Property. London, 1683. 0.25.
- Truth Unavailed, in behalf of the Church of England. By a Person of Quality. London, 1676. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 24.] Inscribed "Sent, and received from my Son Peter Thacher, F. 12, 7^s."
- Truths Conflict with Error, or, Universall Redemption Controverted. [t. p. mut., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 19.] Autographs of "I. Mather"; "Sarah Cotton."
- TUCKNEY, ANTHONY. Balm of Gilead for the Wounds of England. London, 1659. 0.34. Inscribed "Matheri"; "Cottoni Matheri Liber 1683."
- Tuckney, Anthony. Death disarmed. London, 1658. [Bound with *his* Balm of Gilead, 1659.]
- Tuckney, Anthony. *Prælectiones Theologicæ*. Amsterdam, 1679. 1.00. Inscribed "Sam^l. Mather's Book Ex [Donavi] mei paulo ante obitum."
- TURNER, DANIEL. Art of Surgery. Vol. 1, 3ed., London, 1729. 1.00. Inscribed "S. Mather's"; "11^s 4^d."
- TURNER, FRANCIS, Bp. of Ely. Sermon before James II and Mary at their Coronation, April 23, 1685. London, 1685. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 12.]
- TURNER, JOHN. Discourse concerning the Messias. London, 1685. 0.40. Inscribed "S. Mather's, 1737."
- TURNER, ROBERT. *Orationum, et Tractatus, et Epistolæ*. Coloniae. 1615. [t. p. mut.] 1.00.
- TWISSE, WILLIAM. Doubting Conscience Resolved. London, 1652. 0.20.
- Two Conferences: between a Papist and Jew, a Protestant and a Jew, in Letters from a Merchant in London. London, 1679-8. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 20.] Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber, 1683."
- TYMPIUS, MATTHEUS. *Mensæ Theolo-philosophicæ*. Westphaliæ, 1618. 0.34. Autograph of "S. Mathers."

U

- URSINUS, JOHANN HEINRICH. *Sacrorum Adversariorum*. Frankfort, 1650. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Samuel Mather's Book, 1724."
- URSINE, ZACHARY. Collection of Learned Discourses. Oxford, 1600. [Bd. with Knox's Adversaries, &c. Tracts.]
- Utrum horum: or, God's Ways of Disposing of Kingdoms. London, 1691. [Bd. with Hist. of the Kings of Eng., 1692.] Inscribed, "I. [Mather]."

V

- VAIRUS, LEONARDUS. *De Fascino. Libri Tres.* Venice, 1529. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber. Londini, Septbr. 11, 1690, pret. 2^s—6^d."
- VALLA, LAURENTIUS. *De Collatione Novi Testamenti.* Amsterdam, 1630. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Johannis Morris"; "S. Matheri. 1760."
- VALLES, FRANCISCO. *De Sacra Philosophia.* Frankfort, 1680. [t. p. mut.] 0.34. Inscribed "Tho. Shepard's Booke. 1658."; "Samuelis Matheri Liber 1726."
- Vanity of Humane Inventions. London, 1666. 0.25.
- VERNULZ, NICOLAS DE. *Orationum Sacrarum.* Coloniae, 1632. [Bd. with *his* Rhetorum, 1630.]
- Vernulz, Nicolas de. *Rhetorum.* 3ed., Coloniae, 1630. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "Matheri"; "Thomas Shepard me dedit."
- VESTHEMERUS, BARTHOLOMAEUS. *Collectanea Communivm Troporum Sacrosanctæ Scripturæ.* Basilæ, 1530. 1.50.
- VIDELIUS, NICOLAUS. *De Prudentia veteris Ecclesiæ.* Amsterdam, 1633. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus Londini 1690"; "Saml. Mathers"; "Jo. Morris."
- Vindication of Free Grace. London, 1645. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.]
- VOET, GISBERT. *Disputatio Theologica.* Ultrajecti, 1639. [Bd. with *his* Gymnasium Ultrajectinum 1638.]
- Voet, Gisbert. *Exercitiis Pietatis.* 1679. [t. p. mut.] 0.50. Inscribed "I. Mather octobr. 11. 1690."; "Samuelis Matheri Liber Ex dono Patris Honorandi; Sub hac conditione, me, alterum a me Scriptum Librum, Ei dare [Q.] G. N. Julii 27^{mo} 1691."
- Voet, Gisbert. *Gymnasium Vltrajectinum.* Vltrajectina, 1638. 0.75. Inscribed "Lege, Intelligei Vive. J. B. Pret Lond: 3^{sh} 1667"; "S. Matheri. 1742."
- VOSSIUS, GERHARD JOHANN. *Rhetorices Contractæ.* Oxoniæ, 1631. [t. p. mut.] 0.40. Inscribed "S. Matheri, 1740."
- VRIES, GERHARD VAN. *De Natura Dei et Humanæ Mentis.* 3ed., Ultrajecti, 1690. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber. Londini November 24. 1691."; "Samuel Mather's Book, 1724."

W

- W., C. Congress at the Hague, London, 1691. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 3.]
- W., T. [Letter to a Dissenter, upon his Majesties Declaration of Indulgence.] [t. p. w., Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.]
- WADE, JOHN. *Redemption of Time.* London, 1683. 0.50. Inscribed "Thomas Mather his Book 1751"; "Abigail Mather's Book. 1752."
- WALAEUS, ANTHONY. *Dissertatio de Sabbatho.* Leyden, 1628. 0.40. Inscribed, "Elnathan Chauncey," "Matheri."
- WALKER, WILLIAM. *Phraseologia Anglo-Latina.* London, 1672. 0.50. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "Cottonus Matherus E D P 1675"; "Nathanaelis Matheri Liber 1686"; "Samuel Mather."

- WALLIS, JOHN. Defense of the Christian Sabbath. Oxford, 1692. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 20.] Autograph of "I. Mather."
- Wallis John. Mens sobria serio Commendata. Oxford, 1657. 0.34. Inscribed "S. Matheri."
- WALROND, JOHN. Texts of Holy Scripture, relating to the Deity of the Son and Holy Ghost. London, 1720. [Bd. with Doctrine of the Trinity, 1719.] Inscribed in S. Mather's hand, "By Mr. John Walrond at Exon."
- WATTS, ISAAC. Preservative from the Sins and Follies of Childhood and Youth. 4ed., Boston, 1765. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 1.] Inscribed "E. B."
- WELLS, EDWARD. Dionysii Geographia. 2ed., Oxford, 1709. 0.75. Inscribed "Matheri"; "Samuelis Matheri Liber 1727."
- WEMOCKE, L. Beaten Oyle for the Lamps of the Sanctuarie. London, 1641. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.]
- WENDELINUS, MARCUS FRIDERICUS. Christianæ Theologiæ. Amsterdam, 1653. Inscribed "Cottoni Matheri Liber, 1683." "W. V." 1.00.
- WERDENHAGEN, JOHANN ANGELUS. [Descriptio Respublicæ Hanseaticæ. 2 Vols. Leyden, 1629.] [t. p. w.] 1.00.
- WERENFELS, SAMUEL. Discourse of Logomachys. London, 1711. 0.75.
- WHARTON, J. New English Grammar. London, 1655. 0.25. Inscribed "Increase Mather's Book 1706"; "Thomæ Matheri Liber 1753."
- WHISTON, WILLIAM. Primitive Infant Baptism Reviv'd. London, 1712. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.] Inscribed "Matheri."
- WHITE, THOMAS. Subject Matter and Scope of a Discourse in a Meeting-House of Quakers. Bristol, [1716]. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 15.]
- White Crow, or an Enquiry into Some new Doctrines broached by the Bp. of Salisbury. 2ed., [n. p.], 1710. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.]
- WHITEFIELD, GEORGE. Letters to Wesley, in answer to His Sermon, Free Grace. Boston, 1740. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 2.]
- WHITFIELD, THOMAS. Refutation of the Loose Opinions and Licentious Tenets wherewith Lay-Preachers seduce the simple People. London, 1646. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 14.] Autograph of "Richard Mather."
- WIGAND, JOHN. De Persecutione Piorvm. Frankfort, 1580. 0.50. Inscribed "Elnath. Chauncy."
- WILLIAMS, DANIEL. Answer to the Report which the United Ministers appointed their Committee to draw up. London, 1698. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 5.]
- Williams, Daniel. End to discord. London, 1699. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 3.]
- Williams, Daniel, Ministerial Office. 2ed., London, 1709. 0.17.
- WILLIAMS, WILLIAM. Painful Ministry. Boston, 1717.
- WINTER, SAMUEL. Summe of diverse Sermons preached in Dublin. Dublin, 1656. 0.25. Inscribed "Crescentii Matheri Liber dedit Josias Winter authoris filius Dublin, 1658."

- WITHERS, JOHN. Defence of what Occurr'd at the Conference in Exon, and the Dissenters Vindicated. Exon, 1707. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 7.] Inscribed "Matheri."
- WITHERS, GEORGE. Grateful Acknowledgment of a late Trimming Regulator. London, 1688. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 21.]
- Withers, John. Truth try'd: or, Agate's Plain-Truth an Untruth. Exon. 1708. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.]
- WITTICHIUS, CHRISTOPH. Causa Spiritvs Sancti. Leyden, 1678. [t. p. mut.] 0.75. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus Liber."
- WOLLEBIUS, JOHANNES. Compendium Theologiæ Christianæ. London, 1647. 0.34. Inscribed "Samuelis Matheri, 1723."
- WOLSELEY, Sir CHARLES. Justification Evangelical. London, 1677. 0.50. Autograph of "I. Mather."
- Wolseley, Sir Charles. Mount of Spirits. London, 1691. [Bd. with F. Troughton, Letter, 1691.]
- Wonders of the Year 1716. Nottingham, 1716. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.] Inscribed "Chariss. Nobilii Donum"; "Mr. Gataker Antinomianisme discovered and confuted. agt. Saltmarsh. Rich. Mather; 1653."
- WOODWARD, HEZEKIAH. Kings Chronicle. London, 1643. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 20.]
- WOODWARD, JOHN. Naturalis Historia Telluris. London, 1714. 0.75. Inscribed "Mathers"; "Doctissimi Authoris Donum."
- WOOLNER, HENRY. Trve Originall of the Sovle. London, 1641. 0.34. Autograph of "Crescentius Matherus."
- WORCESTER, EDWARD, Ld. Bp. of. Discourse in Vindication of the Trinity. London, 1697. 0.75.
- WORTH, JOHN. Lord our Banner; Sermon, Marlborough, Thanksgiving, Sept. 7, 1704. London, 1705. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 25.] Inscribed "Mather."
- WRIGHT, S. Sermon at Black-Fryars on Publick Fast, Jan. 16, 1712. London, 1712. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 9.]

Y

- YAXLEE, HENRY. Morbus et Antidotus: or, Declaration of H. Yaxlee. London, 1630. [Eng. Tracts, Vol. 11.]
- YOUNG, SAMUEL. Friendly Epistle to G. Keith and the Quakers. By Calvin Philanax [pseud.]. London, 1698. [Bd. with Keith's True Christ, 1679.] Inscribed "Matheri."

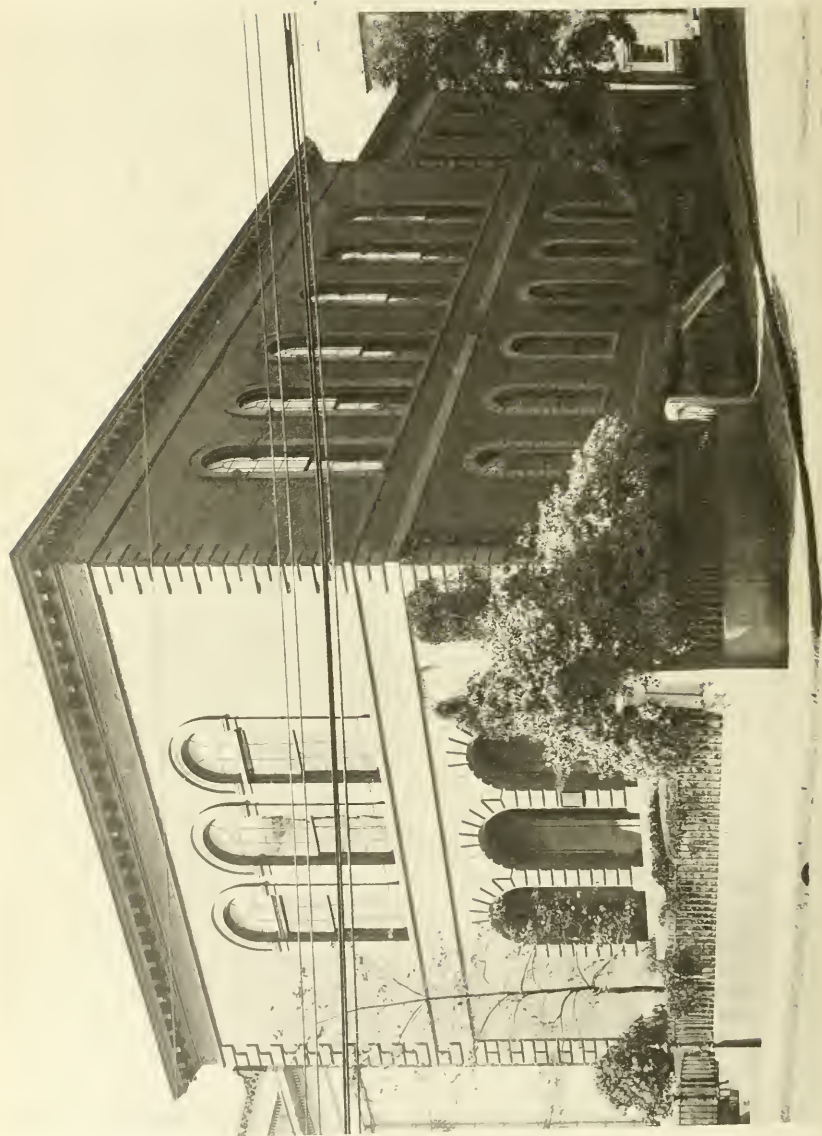
Z

- ZANCHEUS, HIERONYMUS. Opervm Theologicorvm. Geneva, 1587-1619. [Vols. 4, 7, 8.] 10.00. Inscribed, v. 4, "Crescentius Matherus"; v. 7, "Cres. Mather"; "Thomas Mather 1752 3 4 Li."; v. 8, "Crescentius Mather, 1663"; "Saml. Mathers Book. 1723."
- ZEPPER, WILHELM. De Polita Ecclesiastica. Herbornæ, 1595. [t. p. mut.] 0.40. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "S. Matheri."

Zepper, Wilhelm. *Legum Mosaicarum Forensium explanatio*. 2ed., Herbornæ, 1614. [t. p. mut.] 1.00. Inscribed "Crescentius Matherus"; "S. Matheri."

ZIMARA, MARCUS ANTONIO. *Antrvm Magico Medicvm*. Frankfort, 1625-6. 2 Vols. 2.00. Inscribed, Vol. 1, "I. Mather"; Vol. 2, "I. Mather, 1693."

ZWINGER, THEODOR. *Morum Philosophia Poetica*. Basiliæ, 1575. 0.50. Autograph of "S. Matheri."



ANTIQUARIAN HALL, ERECTED 1853



LIBRARIAN'S ROOM

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 19, 1910, AT
THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was called to order by the President at Antiquarian Hall in Worcester, at 10.30 o'clock on Wednesday, October 19, 1910.

The members present were:

Nathaniel Paine, Samuel A. Green, Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes, Andrew McF. Davis, Frederic W. Putnam, John B. McMaster, Daniel Merriman, William B. Weeden, Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, George E. Francis, J. Phinney Baxter, A. George Bullock, G. Stanley Hall, William E. Foster, J. Franklin Jameson, Charles P. Bowditch, Charles P. Greenough, Charles F. Adams, Francis H. Dewey, Calvin Stebbins, Henry A. Marsh, John Green, William DeL. Love, William T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, Arthur Lord, Charles L. Nichols, William R. Livermore, Waldo Lincoln, George P. Winship, A. Lawrence Rotch, Samuel Utley, E. Harlow Russell, Benjamin T. Hill, Edmund A. Engler, Albert Matthews, Alexander F. Chamberlain, William MacDonald, Anson D. Morse, Clarence W. Bowen, Clarence S. Brigham, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Franklin P. Rice, Worthington C. Ford, Charles MacL. Andrews, Henry E. Woods, Julius H. Tuttle, Charles G. Washburn, Samuel B. Woodward, Arthur P. Rugg, Samuel M. Conant, Wilfred H. Munro, Justin H. Smith, Henry W. Cunning-

ham, Frank F. Dresser, Albert B. Hart, Shepherd Knapp, Albert Whitin, Edward H. Thompson.

The Secretary read the call for the meeting.

The Records, as printed in the Proceedings and distributed to the members, were ordered approved without reading.

The Report of the Council, having been read by the President, and the Reports of the Treasurer and the Librarian, were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The Secretary reported that the Council recommended for election to membership in the Society the following gentlemen:

Resident members:

Albert Carlos Bates, Hartford, Conn.

Morton Dexter, Boston, Mass.

George Francis Dow, Salem, Mass.

Charles Evans, Chicago, Ill.

Homer Gage, Worcester, Mass.

Samuel Verplanck Hoffman, New York, N. Y.

Henry Ainsworth Parker, Cambridge, Mass.

William Milligan Sloane, New York N. Y.

Foreign members:

Alfred Percival Maudslay, London, Eng.

George McKinnon Wrong, Toronto, Canada.

Messrs. Edes, Hart and Whitin were appointed a Committee to collect and count the ballots. This Committee having reported that the ballots cast were in favor of the names as recommended, they were declared elected to the Society.

Messrs. Ford, Foster and Woodward were appointed a Committee to collect and count the ballots for Presi-

dent of the Society. All the members present having voted, the Committee reported the unanimous election of Waldo Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln briefly accepted the election, thanking the members for their renewed expression of confidence.

Messrs. S. A. Green, Russell and MacDonald were appointed a committee to nominate the other officers of the Society. The Committee reported the following list, and a ballot having been cast, they were declared elected.

Vice-Presidents:

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL. D., of Boston, Mass.
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A. M., of Cambridge,
Mass.

**Councillors:*

NATHANIEL PAINE, A. M., of Worcester, Mass.
SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A. M., of Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A. M., of Worcester,
Mass.
EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A. M., of Worcester,
Mass.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester,
Mass.
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A. M., of Providence,
R. I.
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, LITT. D., of Portland, Me.
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D., of Worcester,
Mass.
SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, LITT. D., of New
Haven, Conn.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln, Mass.

Recording Secretary:

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, A. M., of Providence,
R. I.

Treasurer:

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A. M., of Worcester,
Mass.

Committee of Publication:

FRANKLIN P. RICE, of Worcester, Mass.

GEORGE H. HAYNES, PH.D., of Worcester, Mass.

CHARLES L. NICHOLS, M. D., of Worcester, Mass.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE, A. B., of Dedham, Mass.

Auditors:

BENJAMIN T. HILL, A. B., of Worcester, Mass.

HENRY A. MARSH, of Worcester, Mass.

On motion of Mr. Winship, in behalf of the Council, it was Voted,—That the last sentence in the first paragraph of Article VI of the By-Laws be changed to read:—"The semi-annual meeting shall be held in Boston on the second Wednesday of April at such place as the Council shall designate."

The President stated that at the April meeting of 1908 a vote was passed by the Society authorizing the President to convey the estate, at the corner of Main and Highland streets, to the County of Worcester, but that some question had arisen as to whether a direct vote of the Society on the exact proposition of this sale of real estate should not be passed; and on motion of Judge Utley it was voted:—

That the Society sell its real estate at the corner of Highland and Main streets in Worcester to the County of Worcester for the sum of forty thousand dollars, and that the President of the Society be and he hereby is authorized to execute, acknowledge and deliver in the name of the Society such a deed as is necessary to carry out this vote.

The subject announced for discussion at the meeting, "The Present State of Historical Writing in America," was presented by J. Franklin Jameson, John Bach McMaster, and Edward Channing, and their papers were referred to the Committee of Publication.

In response to a call for further remarks Mr. Charles Francis Adams said:—I have nothing particular to add to the discussion, but as you, Sir, read to-day the report, I was somewhat impressed with a thought on the great ease with which it is always possible to manufacture matter for controversy over issues upon which no difference in reality exists. You entered a sort of not unkindly caveat on certain remarks which I made a year ago in regard to what I denominated rubbish in libraries, and you seemed to imply—or rather you *did* imply, not seemed to—that there was a difference of opinion between yourself and myself, or between the Society and myself; and it at once occurred to me that in reality there was no difference whatever. The only difference is in the angle at which you look at the problem. The question is simply one of degree. Let me ask you, did it ever occur to you what is the only correct definition of the word poison? We know the scientific definition of the word, as given in the dictionaries. Now, poison, in reality, and correctly defined, is anything taken in excess. It is a question of degree. For instance, we all live on sunlight. Take it in excess, and see what happens. What we call poisons, even the most virulent, if taken in proper quantities become medicines. Arsenic, for instance, is spoken of as a virulent poison. Taken in proper quantities it is a medicine. Milk is not generally classified under the head of poisons; but taken in excess by infants it leads to distinctly morbid symptoms.

Now, test this proposition as to rubbish in this light, and I ask you if we do not agree on it. Is it not merely a question of degree? The city of Worcester, for instance, has,—if it hasn't, the town of Lincoln does have,

—what is known as a dumping-ground. It is a place where rubbish is disposed of. Now, as to excess, if you were to send carts, and bring in all the rubbish from that dump and put it in your back yard and preserve it, you would be taking what I call rubbish in excess. It is the same with libraries. It is the same with all accumulation of matter. There have been, I most religiously believe, few worse besoms of destruction of rare historical material—newspapers, diaries, pamphlets, all manner of unconsidered written and printed trifles—than the general house-cleanings at the hands of notable housewives and handmaidens; but would you tenderly preserve the entire dump-pile on that account? It is all a question of degree.

No test, in such cases, is so good as individual experience. Take your own case; or I will take mine. I am not a very busy man, as the case goes now, but my time is a good deal occupied, and largely in trying to keep abreast with a correspondence which, when I review it, seems to me to amount to nothing more than a waste of life. Last winter, for instance, I kept an average of the number of letters I wrote a day. I found I each day put into the mail about twenty pieces of mail-matter. I have a friend who has preserved all his dinner invitations; and has done so all his life. He has a fine collection of them; but of what use? Rubbish! I have no receptacle in my office so useful as the waste-paper basket, and every day the pile that goes into it fills me with nausea. Yet I have a mass of correspondence,—letters I have preserved on my files. I have an inherited feeling about keeping such material, and, though I destroy every day a large amount of rubbish, —if you will permit me to use the word,—yet I retain a business and other correspondence stretching over years,—and I would like to know what I am to do with it. It is ninety-nine one-hundredths of it rubbish! If I turn it over to Mr. Ford for the Massachusetts Historical Society, he would, in going through it, face a task I shrink from in picking out the small residuum

worth preservation. But would you preserve it all? Every one of us is in the same box. And yet if every one of us here, you and I, Mr. President, were to take hold of what I call rubbish, and apply our faculties and best judgments as a joint committee to your library here, to prevent unnecessary accumulation, I don't believe there would be two cases of difference between us in a day. We would say, "Throw that away: it is of no use. Preserve this." The thing reduces itself to the question of what comes under the head of rubbish; and, as I have said, you yourself will admit that the vast mass of the dump-pile of the city of Worcester deserves to be destroyed. What I said last applies only to the habit of indiscriminate collection.

You refer to Hawthorne, saying he was born one hundred years too late. What he wrote on the occasion referred to was cited as the utterance of a man without scientific interest: and it is true that in what are known as "The Good Old Times," they did accumulate little. Those generations did indeed cart their rubbish off with them, and in it, much we wish they had saved for us. But a great change has in this respect come about; and again—Excess! And when did the period of change set in? It was, I think, about the year the Massachusetts Historical Society was organized, say in 1790. Prior to that, I admit, they preserved almost nothing. Whatever was preserved was preserved largely by accident. There was then no excess of what has since become poison, and we lost what cannot be replaced.

But, since that time, the habit of accumulating has come with ever growing impetus, until we have come to a condition of things when we preserve a vast amount of material in no way worth preserving. I remember a few years ago, before my friend, Alexander Agassiz, died,—he and I were in college together,—Agassiz said to me in despair,—“If people want to preserve anything they bring it into this museum. They bring here everything, and they expect us to preserve it; and we have preserved all possible examples of animated nature, until it

has come to such a pass that it will take more spirits of alcohol than there is in the world to continue the collections we are making.' With shelf-room substituted for spirits of alcohol, this also is true of repositories such as ours.

THE PRESIDENT. We may be congratulated for the reply my report has brought out.

MR. ADAMS. I deny the slightest real difference of opinion. If it came down to practice, you and I would agree every time!

THE PRESIDENT. One point Mr. Adams must not overlook. The dump-heaps of ancient days are the invaluable treasure-houses of modern archæologists; but I think, as Mr. Adams said, that we do not differ materially in our opinion as to what is rubbish.

The various communications were referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting was then adjourned.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP,

Recording Secretary.

Before and after the meeting, many of the members took occasion to go over the old building, the home of the Society since 1853, and in which the Society now met for the last time. At the invitation of the Worcester members, they reassembled at the New Building, where a luncheon was served. The President explained the proposed arrangement of the collections in this building, the uses of the various alcoves and rooms, and something of the plans for making the Society's possessions more accessible and more useful.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

Since the last meeting five active members have died:—James Bourne Ayer of Boston on May 14, Deloraine Pendre Corey of Malden on May 6, George Pierce Garrison of Texas on July 3, James Lyman Whitney of Cambridge on September 25, and Frederick John Kingsbury of Waterbury, Conn. on September 30. Dr. Ayer was elected but two years ago, and failing health prevented his taking any active part in the Society's work. Mr. Corey was elected in April, 1905, and since October, 1907, has been a member of the Committee of Publication. Mr. Whitney was elected in October, 1894, was a frequent attendant of the Boston meetings, and has remembered the Society in his will. Mr. Kingsbury was elected in April, 1886, and contributed a paper to the Proceedings in April, 1898. Brief notices of these members have been prepared by the biographer. Of the foreign members, Goldwin Smith of Toronto, Canada, died June 7, 1910, and the death of Rudolfo Gregorio Canton of Merida, Yucatan, is now first announced to the Society, though it occurred July 29, 1909.

Last October the Council established, from the unexpended income of the previous year, a fund of \$4,000 to be known as the Purchasing Fund, to be used, both principal and interest, for the purchase of whole libraries or parts of libraries, the principal to be restored from time to time by the proceeds of all sales of the Society's duplicates. Nearly \$2,000 has been expended during the past year for valuable collections of early

American imprints and newspapers, and it is expected that the coming winter will see the Fund restored nearly to its original sum by a sale of duplicates, and so made available for further valuable offerings which, without such a fund, it would be impossible to accept.

No provision having been made in the new building for a satisfactory display of the plaster casts of "Christ" and "Moses" from the original statues by Michael Angelo, which were respectively presented to the Society in 1859 and 1861 by President Salisbury, the Council authorized the President to offer them to any institution in Worcester which might be willing to care for them. The Worcester Art Museum very gladly accepted the "Christ"; and the Worcester County Law Library Association gratefully accepted the "Moses" and has placed it in the upper hall of the Court House, where its majestic figure is admirably displayed and forms a most striking and appropriate adornment to the building. While the "higher criticism" may question the accuracy of Moses as a historian, and doubt the propriety of placing his statue in a historical library, there can be no similar objection to a statue of Moses as a lawgiver in a court of law. The Council is pleased to have found such suitable homes for these valuable casts.

A beginning has been made during the past year in cataloguing the Society's valuable collection of maps. With the facilities for properly arranging and classifying them which will be offered in the new building, it is expected that this collection will be materially extended. The following communication recently received from the New England Historic Genealogical Society is an indication of good will in a fellow Society which cannot be too highly commended. In accepting the maps and the conditions imposed, the Council has instructed the Secretary to express the hope that this Society may be able to give to the Genealogical Society equally valuable assistance in its chosen specialties.

N. E. HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

SOCIETY'S HOUSE,
18 SOMERSET STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

To American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Mass.

Dear Sirs :

At a meeting of the Council held Wednesday, October 5, 1910, it was

Voted, That the collection of printed maps belonging to this Society be deposited for safe keeping with the American Antiquarian Society, provided that the Council of that Society will vote to accept the deposit upon the following conditions, viz.:

First, that the whole collection or any part of it shall be immediately returned to the New England Historic Genealogical Society upon the request of its Council or governing board.

Secondly, that the collection be accessible to any member of the American Antiquarian Society or of the New England Historic Genealogical Society upon presentation of proper credentials, and also that it be accessible to such other persons as present a written permit to consult it from one of the officers of either Society.

From the minutes,

Attest :

JOHN ALBREE,
Clerk.

The establishment of a special fund for the collection and care of maps and plans would prove of great value.

It is much to be regretted that lack of income will oblige the suspension of work upon the manuscripts which has been so well carried on during the three last years and a half by Mr. Charles H. Lincoln; and it is hoped that the work done, and the wealth of material already brought to light, have so demonstrated the desirability of completing the work that funds will soon be furnished for that purpose. A year ago it was suggested that a special fund of \$25,000 should be established for the collection, preservation and cataloguing of manuscripts, but no benefactor has yet appeared in whom the sugges-

tion has found response. Such a fund would be a splendid memorial, and the manuscript room might be fitly named in honor of its giver.

The task of mounting the letters of the firm of S. & S. Salisbury, nearly three thousand in number and of great historical interest, which form a part of the Salisbury manuscripts, has been suspended during the summer, but has now been resumed and will doubtless be completed by the next annual meeting. It is being done by our associate, Benjamin Thomas Hill, and samples of the work are here for inspection. The Society is fortunate that it has a member so skillful, one whose interest in the Society and enthusiasm for his task make his work doubly valuable.

The Council had hoped to announce the immediate appearance of the volume of "Royal Proclamations relating to America," and is much disappointed that unforeseen difficulties have delayed its publication. It is nearly ready for the press, and should be completed very soon. The printing of the April Proceedings was also delayed beyond expectations, and when it was ready for binding a fire in the printing office, which fortunately was stopped before the edition was injured, caused further delay.

During the past year the funds of the Society have been increased by subscription and bequest, as stated in detail by the treasurer, \$31,535, to which may properly be added \$2,500 subscribed but not yet paid to the Centennial Fund. Having obtained this sum it seemed best to the committee on soliciting funds to wait until after this meeting before seeking further subscriptions, with the idea that the beauty, safety and convenience of the new building would make a more eloquent appeal than any argument which could be presented before its completion. The work of soliciting subscriptions will now be prosecuted with vigor.

It was confidently expected until midsummer that the new building would be sufficiently advanced to make it available for this meeting, but a strike in the

workshops of the subcontractor for the steel book-stack and cases, which lasted for ten weeks, made it impossible to finish the building on July 1, as had been promised; and further delay by the same contractor, for which no satisfactory reason has been or apparently can be given, makes it impossible to say when the building will be ready for occupancy. The general contractors, The J. W. Bishop Company of Worcester, aside from what blame may attach to them for the delay, deserve praise for the thorough manner in which they have carried out that part of the contract which they have been able to control. It is needless to say that it is a great disappointment to the Council, and especially to the President, that the Library is not to-day installed in the new building. Yet it is pleasant to have one more meeting in these old rooms, surrounded by the books which speak so eloquently of the loving labors of those who for over fifty years made this building their home or the Mecca of their annual pilgrimage. Note here the crowded shelves, the unsafe conditions, the lack of conveniences for attendants and students, and compare them this afternoon, when inspecting the new building, with the conveniences provided therein. The Council is confident that the new building will prove a model for all similar libraries, not only in beauty of design and safety of construction and situation, but in facilities for consultation and study. A small additional endowment is all that is needed to enable the Society to increase its collections along those lines wherein it has decided to specialize and to make the most effective use of the building and its contents.

It cannot be too often repeated that this Society attempts to do, and will now be in the position to do, that which no other society in the world can do so well. Founded nearly a century ago, it possesses, thanks to the foresight of its founder and the zeal of his associates and successors, a collection of early American newspapers and imprints which can, perhaps, never be equalled, even should it stop collecting to-day. This

has been admirably set forth in the "Handbook" of the Society, prepared last year by the Librarian and distributed to its members and to all the members of the American Historical Association. The Society is not hiding its candle under a bushel, and there can be no better policy than to advertise the Society and its collections extensively, and to furnish students with every facility for study and research.

With certain sentiments expressed at the laying of the corner-stone last year the Council, as a whole, does not agree. That historical societies have multiplied during recent years until their name is legion seems to the writer a matter for congratulation rather than regret, and Hawthorne's wish, that each generation might cart its rubbish off with it, simply shows that he lived a century too late, for our grandsires did that very thing to the regret of every historical investigator, even including him who last year seemed to endorse Hawthorne's iconoclastic wish. The rubbish of to-day is the treasure of to-morrow, and the more numerous the societies devoted to the preservation of to-day's rubbish the more rich in historical material will be the societies of the future. True, no one society should attempt to collect everything, but local societies in every town and city and State should be encouraged to preserve all that relates to their locality. This, however, is not the duty of the American Antiquarian Society, and to bid it confine its field, aside from the collection of American imprints previous to 1820, to the district known as the "Heart of the Commonwealth," even if that district included the whole of Worcester County or even Massachusetts itself, is to miss the import of its name, the aim of its charter and the character of its membership. The Society invites eminent historians, archæologists and librarians throughout the United States to active membership, and distinguished scholars in foreign countries are proud to be their associates. Is it to interest them in the collection of the books, periodicals, journals or newspapers of one locality

in Massachusetts that this invitation is given? That the Society has such a collection is purely incidental to the accident of its location, and to the fact that until recent years there was no local society to do the work. This is the *American* Antiquarian Society, national in membership and American in objects, and it must leave to local societies all local matters, specializing only in certain great collections which will attract and interest the students of the history of the several countries which compose America.

WALDO LINCOLN,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

Deloraine Pendre Corey died in Malden, Mass., May 6, 1910. He was born September 4, 1836, in that part of Malden which is now Everett, was educated in the public schools, and was in business in Boston till 1898 when he retired. On May 11, 1865, he married Isabella Holden, who survives him; their only child died several years ago. He was active in his church, in the Young Men's Christian Association and in other similar organizations, and gave freely of his time and money wherever he could serve the public good. For many years Mr. Corey was engaged in historical and kindred studies and he has published several historical, genealogical and biographical books, pamphlets and articles of local interest; when abroad he visited Malden, England, made many acquaintances there, and collected much information bearing on the early history of his city. He took an active part in the formation of the Malden Public Library, was its first president, served as a trustee thirty-two years and in recognition of his services was tendered a banquet by the citizens of the city. Mr. Corey became a member of this Society in 1905, and since 1907 has been a member of the Committee of Publication, in which he has rendered valuable service. He has made many gifts to the Society, including his publications and useful books and pamphlets, and he constantly manifested a warm interest in it and its work. He was also a member of the Massachusetts Free Public Library Commission, The New England Historic Genealogical Society, the American Historical Association, the American Library Association, the Massachusetts Library Club, the New Hampshire Library Association (and also its president), the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, an honorary member of the Somerville Historical Society, a member of the Malden



MAIN HALL, LOOKING EAST

Historical Society (and also its president), a member of the Sons of the Revolution, of the Sons of the American Revolution, honorary member of the Daughters of the Revolution and one of the Trustees of Public Reservations of Massachusetts. His death leaves a place in this Society which it will be very difficult to fill. S. U.

James Bourne Ayer was born in Boston, January 6, 1849, and died in that city May 14, 1910. He was graduated from Harvard in 1869 and from its Medical School in 1873 and after serving as house physician in the Massachusetts General Hospital he was engaged, until his death, in the active practice of his profession in which he obtained distinction. He was a member of the Massachusetts Medical Society and a councillor and censor, and he was also a member and councillor of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. His publications were many along professional lines. He became a member of this Society in 1908. S. U.

Goldwin Smith died in Toronto, Canada, June 7, 1910. He was born in Reading, England, 1823, was graduated at Oxford in 1845, and from 1858 to 1866 was professor of modern history there. From 1868 to 1871 he was honorary professor of English and general constitutional history at Cornell University. Later he went to Toronto, married and resided there, though he ever had a warm interest in Cornell, occasionally lectured there, and at his death left \$689,000 to the University. His library, valued at \$9,300, was given to the city of Toronto, and his pictures and statues, valued at \$5,000, were given to the Art Museum of Toronto. He regarded the whole English-speaking world as his country, and in an accord between its constituent members he believed rested the surest hope of the future welfare of the race. His writings reached a widespread circle of readers in all conditions of life. In particular he made great efforts to spread information about America throughout England, and he was so good a friend that all agree with the statement of Prof. Charles Eliot Norton that "America pays him the tribute of heartiest gratitude; she welcomes him not as a stranger

but as a son.'" He became a member of this Society in 1893.

S. U.

George Pierce Garrison died in Austin, Texas, July 3, 1910. He was born in Carrollton, Ga., December 19, 1853, studied at the University of Texas, the University of Edinburgh, which conferred on him the degree of LL. D. in 1881, and the University of Chicago, from which he received the degree of Ph. D. in 1896. Since 1884 he has been connected with the University of Texas nearly all the time, as instructor, assistant professor and professor of English and of History. He was a member of the American Historical Association, of the American Economic Association, of the American Academy, and of the Texas State Historical Association. As a contributor to magazines and other periodicals he had become widely known; and he was also author of the *Civil Government of Texas*, the *History of Texas and Westward Extension*, and he edited the diplomatic correspondence of the Republic of Texas. On November 6, 1881, he married Annie Perkins. He became a member of this Society in 1907.

S. U.

James Lyman Whitney died in Cambridge, Mass., September 25, 1910. He was born in Northampton, Mass., November 28, 1835 and was graduated from Yale in 1856 with the degree of A. B. which was followed in 1865 by that of A. M. He belonged to a large family of noted scholars of whom only one survives. For many years he was one of the proprietors of the "Old Corner Book Store" in Springfield, Mass. In 1869 he became an assistant in the Boston Public Library and remained there until death, a period of nearly forty-one years. From 1899 to 1903 he was librarian of that library and later had charge of the department of documents and statistics and manuscripts. He edited the *Ticknor Catalogue of Spanish Literature* and also many of the publications of the Library. On November 8, 1909, Mr. Whitney was tendered a banquet by his associates of the library staff in honor of his forty years' service and a loving cup was given him. On that occasion he read reminiscences of his life in the Connecticut Valley and in the Boston Public Library. He became a member

of this Society in 1894. In later years he presented a memorial of Justin Winsor, made numerous gifts to the Society, kept a watchful eye on its interests, and frequently made valuable suggestions regarding its scope and work.

S. U.

Frederick John Kingsbury was born in Waterbury, Conn., January 1, 1823, and lived in that city till his long, honorable and useful life was terminated at his summer home in Litchfield, Conn., on September 30, 1910. He was graduated from Yale in 1846 with the degree of A. B. which was followed by that of A. M. in 1849. The degree of LL. D. was conferred on him by Williams College in 1893 and by Yale University in 1899. From 1881 to 1889 he was a member of the Corporation of Yale. In 1848 he was admitted to the bar and practised about four years in Waterbury, when he entered business, and during the remainder of his life was engaged in large financial, manufacturing and railroad transactions. For several years he was a member of the Connecticut legislature and he represented that state as a commissioner at the Centennial Exposition in 1876. He was a member of the Century Club, the University Club of New York and the University Club of New Haven. He married Alatheia R. Scovill, April 29, 1851, who died in 1899 leaving three children. He was a frequent contributor to the press, his last letter to the *Yale Alumni Weekly* appearing just before his death. Some years ago an article by him calling attention to the danger of feeling particularly well attracted much attention. He kept a warm interest in a large variety of subjects and was widely known for his high character and strict integrity. He was a member (and president) of the American Social Science Association, the Society of Colonial Wars, and the American Historical Association, to the bibliography of which his contributions number many titles. He became a member of this Society in 1886, and to its Proceedings contributed a notice of John Winthrop, published in Vol. XII, new series. He collected an elaborate genealogy of the Kingsbury family which was published in an elegant edition, a copy of which he presented to the Society.

S. U.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer herewith presents his Annual Report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending Sept. 30, 1910, and a statement of the investments of the Society.

The assets, October 1st, 1910, are \$481,995.92, which are about \$30,000.00 larger than at the same date last year, but it should be noted that \$164,762.42 of our assets, are invested in our real estate.

The total cost of our new building to date, is as follows:—

Paid for Land,.....	\$14,958.50
Paid on new building during 1909	10,654.05
Paid on new building during 1910.....	99,149.87

To complete the building and furnish it, will probably cost about \$55,000 more.

To meet partially the outlay on the building during the year, we have sold the following securities:—

\$ 2,000 Bonds — American Telephone & Telegraph Co.,	
\$10,000 “ Lake Shore & Michigan Southern Ry.,	
\$15,000 “ Boston & Albany R. R.,	
\$ 3,000 “ Crompton & Knowles Loom Works,	
10 Shares — Boston Tow Boat Co.,	
\$15,000 Bonds — Kansas City, Mo.,	
\$10,000 “ Louisville & Nashville R. R.,	
\$ 3,000 “ Chicago, Cincinnati & Louisville R. R.,	
\$ 2,000 “ Hoosier Equipment Company,	
and realized \$57,927.06.	

A sum amounting to \$4,123.86, stands credited to the various funds, being income which has not been expended during the year, and of which \$2,000.00 will be expended to cover the expenses of moving into the new building.

We have received since Oct. 1st, 1909, the following gifts:—

From Mr. Chas. G. Washburn for the Charles Francis

Washburn Fund,.....	\$ 5,000.00
From the estate of the late Eliza D. Dodge.....	3,000.00
From Mr. James F. Hunnewell.....	5,000.00

The income of all these funds is to be used for the general purposes of the Society.

We have received from Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis,
 as an addition to the John & Eliza Davis Fund..... \$ 1,000.00
 From Mr. Edward L. Davis, as an addition to the Isaac
 and E. L. Davis Fund..... 5,000.00

The income of these two funds is to be used for general purposes if
 needed, otherwise, for the purpose for which the funds were originally
 created.

We have received from Mr. Franklin B. Dexter, to be
 used for the purchase of books,..... \$195.00
 From Mr. Waldo Lincoln, for the purchase of maps..... 35.65

No extended effort has yet been made to secure subscriptions to the
 Centennial Fund, but some subscriptions have already been received.
 The following is a list of contributions already made to this fund:—

Charles H. Davis.....	\$2,000.00
Nathaniel Paine.....	50.00
Austin P. Cristy.....	100.00
Henry W. Cunningham.....	1,000.00
Henry A. Marsh.....	100.00
Simeon E. Baldwin.....	100.00
Samuel A. Green.....	50.00
Edwin H. Hall.....	25.00
Eugene F. Bliss.....	1,000.00
A. George Bullock.....	2,000.00
William B. Weeden.....	500.00
Charles L. Nichols.....	2,500.00
Edwin D. Mead.....	10.00
Samuel B. Woodward.....	1,000.00
Samuel Utley.....	100.00
Waldo Lincoln	1,000.00
Samuel S. Green,.....	1,000.00
	\$12,535.00

The expenses of the Society, after the new building is occupied, will
 necessarily be very largely increased, and it is earnestly hoped that the
 Centennial Fund will be large enough to afford us a greatly increased
 income.

RECEIPTS.

Assets October 1, 1909.....	\$451,005.37	
Interest received since October 1, 1909.....	16,503.51	
Assessments received since October 1, 1909.....	400.00	
Life Membership Fees.....	50.00	
Edward L. Davis for credit to Isaac & E.		
L. Davis Fund.....	5,000.00	
A. McFarland Davis for credit to John &		
Eliza Davis Fund.....	1,000.00	
Charles G. Washburn for Charles Francis		
Washburn Fund.....	5,000.00	
Contributions to Centennial Fund.....	12,535.00	
Estate of Eliza D. Dodge for Eliza D. Dodge		
Fund.....	3,000.00	
James F. Hunnewell for Hunnewell Fund ..	5,000.00	
Special Gifts.....	231.65	
Sale of Books, etc.....	838.56	
		\$500,564.09

DISBURSEMENTS.

Incidental Expense.....	\$ 288.62	
Salaries.....	7,069.14	
Cataloguing Manuscripts.....	1,500.00	
Treasurer and Office Expense.....	620.88	
Light, Heat, Water and Telephone.....	330.77	
Supplies.....	179.34	
Books.....	4,832.99	
Publishing.....	2,933.02	
Binding.....	223.33	
Repairs on Furniture and Paintings.....	126.08	
Rent of Newspaper Room.....	200.00	
Repairs on Buildings.....	4.00	
Moving Expense.....	260.00	
		\$18,568.17
Assets,		
		481,995.92

ASSETS, OCT. 1, 1910.

Bonds.....	\$246,519.00	
Stocks.....	34,318.00	
Mortgage Loans.....	15,100.00	
Real Estate.....	164,762.42	
Savings Bank Deposits.....	162.80	
Bond Premium Account.....	570.03	
Cash on hand subject to check.....	20,563.67	
		\$481,995.92

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

BONDS.	PER CENT.	PAR.	BOOK.
Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co.....	4	\$11,000	\$11,000
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R... 4	4	2,000	1,540
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe R. R... 4	4	1,000	885
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.....	3½	5,000	4,637
Boston & Maine R. R.....	3½	5,000	4,593
Boston Elevated Ry. Co.....	4	2,000	2,000
Boston Elevated Ry. Co.....	4½	8,000	7,960
Baltimore, Md., City of.....	4	15,000	15,000
Boston, Mass., City of.....	3½	15,000	14,325
Brockton, Mass., City of.....	4	2,000	2,000
Chicago, Ill., City of.....	4	8,000	8,000
Duluth, Minn., City of.....	4	2,000	1,940
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R... 4	4	5,000	5,000
Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R.....	5	9,000	9,000
Chicago, Indiana & Southern R. R... 4	4	12,000	10,920
Congress Hotel Co., Chicago, Ill.....	6	5,000	5,000
Crompton & Knowles Loom Works... 6	6	1,000	1,000
Ellicott Sq. Co., Buffalo, N. Y.....	5	5,000	5,000
Fitchburg R. R.....	3½	10,000	9,300
Illinois Central R. R.....	3½	2,000	2,000
Jersey City, N. J., City of.....	4	5,000	4,931
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill Ry. Co. 5	5	7,000	6,570
Lynn & Boston Ry. Co.....	5	1,000	1,000
Marlboro & Westboro Ry. Co.....	5	1,000	1,000
Memphis, Tenn., City of.....	4	5,000	4,887
Middletown, Conn., City of.....	3½	5,000	4,700
New York, City of.....	4½	20,000	20,000
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.....	4	10,000	10,000
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.....	3½	2,000	2,000
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.....	6	2,200	2,189
Old Colony R. R.....	4	3,000	2,970
Omaha, Neb., City of.....	4½	15,000	15,000
Penobscot Shore Line R. R.....	4	5,000	4,943
Pere Marquette R. R.....	4	5,000	5,000
Quincy, Mass., City of.....	4	4,000	4,000
Seattle Electric Co.....	5	5,000	5,000
Southern Indiana R. R.....	4	2,000	2,000
Union Pacific R. R.....	4	500	450
Waterbury, Ct., City of.....	4	10,000	9,600
West End St. Ry. Co.....	4	1,000	1,000
Wilkesbarre & Eastern R. R.....	5	2,000	2,000
Woonsocket, R. I., City of.....	4	12,000	11,179
Worcester & Marlboro St. Ry. Co.... 5	5	3,000	3,000
Worcester & Webster St. Ry. Co.....	5	2,000	2,000

 \$246,519

STOCKS.

Shares	Par Value.	Book Value.
20 Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.....	\$2,000	\$2,000
11 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. R. R..	1,100	687
32 National Bank of Commerce, Boston.	3,200	3,200
6 Fitchburg National Bank, Fitchburg.	600	600
50 Fitchburg Railroad Co.....	5,000	5,000
35 Mass. Gas Light Companies (Pref.)...	3,500	2,900
55 N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co.....	5,500	6,500
30 Northern R. R. (N. H.).....	3,000	3,000
3 Old Boston National Bank.....	300	300
11 Old South Building Trust (Pref.)....	1,100	981
30 Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....	3,000	3,000
16 Webster & Atlas National Bank	1,600	1,800
25 West End St. Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	1,250	1,250
10 Worcester Gas Light Co.....	1,200	1,200
16 Worcester National Bank.....	1,600	1,600
3 Worcester Trust Co.....	300	300

 \$34,318

MORTGAGE LOANS.

J. Burwick, Worcester, Mass.....	\$2,100
L. L. Mellen, Worcester, Mass.....	1,500
B. F. Sawyer, Worcester, Mass.....	3,500
J. P. Sexton, Trustee, Worcester, Mass.....	8,000

 \$15,100

REAL ESTATE.

Library Building.....	\$ 40,000.00
New Library Building.	124,762.42

 \$164,762.42

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Peoples Savings Bank.....	\$14.35
Worcester Five Cents Savings Bank.....	20.68
Worcester Mechanics Savings Bank.....	127.77

 \$162.80

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS
FOR THE YEAR ENDING SEPT. 30, 1910.

Alden Fund.

Principal.....		\$ 1,000.00
Balance on income from last year.....	\$ 50.00	
Income during the year.....	45.00	95.00

Bookbinding Fund.

Principal.....		\$ 7,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 237.78	
Income during the year.....	337.50	
	\$575.28	
Expenditure.....	223.33	\$351.95

George Chandler Fund.

Principal.....		\$500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	.27	
Income during the year.....	22.50	
	\$22.77	
Expenditure.....	21.85	.92

Collection and Research Fund.

Principal.....		\$17,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 31.82	
Income during the year.....	1,130.16	
	\$ 1,161.98	
Expenditure.....	31.82	\$ 1,130.16

Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Principal at end of last year.....	\$15,000.00	
Increased during the year.....	5,000.00	\$20,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 15.54	
Income during the year.....	800.00	
	\$815.54	
Expenditure.....	676.81	\$138.73

John and Eliza Davis Fund.

Principal at end of last year.....	\$ 3,900.00	
Increased during the year.....	1,000.00	\$4,900.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 26.82	
Income during the year.....	196.00	
	\$222.82	
Expenditure.....	213.70	\$9.12

Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Principal.....		\$ 4,800.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 2.83	
Income during the year.....	216.55	
	\$219.38	
Expenditure.....	219.38	0.00

George E. Ellis Fund.

Principal.....		\$17,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$338.65	
Income during the year.....	787.50	
	\$ 1,126.15	
Expenditure.....	1,009.60	\$116.55

Librarians' and General Fund.

Principal.....		\$35,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$1,850.27	
Income during the year.....	1,621.28	
	\$3,471.55	
Expenditure.....	3,471.55	0.00

Haven Fund.

Principal.....		\$ 1,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 9.47	
Income during the year.....	67.50	
	\$76.97	
Expenditure.....	76.75	.22

Library Building Fund.

Principal.....		\$40,000.00
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Life Membership Fund.

Principal at end of last year.....	\$ 2,700.00	
Increased during the year.....	50.00	\$ 2,750.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$132.50	
Income during the year.....	123.75	
	\$256.25	
Expenditure.....	132.50	\$123.75

Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Principal.....		\$ 7,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 23.32	
Income during the year.....	315.00	
	\$338.32	
Expenditure.....	260.00	\$78.32

Publishing Fund.

Principal.....		\$32,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 1,000.40	
Income during the year.....	2,092.62	
	\$ 3,093.02	
Expenditure.....	2,933.02	\$160.00

Salisbury Building Fund.

Principal.....		\$ 6,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$390.20	
Income during the year.....	270.00	
	\$660.20	
Expenditure.....	4.00	\$656.20

Salisbury Mansion Fund.

Principal (Invested in new Library Building)		\$35,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 1,738.41	
Expenditure.....	1,738.41	0.00

Salisbury Legacy Fund.

Principal, of which \$89,762.42 is invested in New Library Building.....		\$209,500.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 1,165.85	
Income during the year.....	8,980.00	
	\$10,145.85	
Expenditure.....	10,118.66	\$27.19

Tenney Fund.

Principal.....		\$ 5,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$13.06	
Income during the year.....	225.00	
	\$238.06	
Expenditure.....	213.06	\$25.00

Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Principal.....		\$ 1,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 3.53	
Income during the year.....	45.00	
	\$ 48.53	
Expenditure.....	47.04	\$1.49

Frances W. Haven Fund.

Principal.....		\$ 2,000.00
Balance of income from last year.....	\$ 15.00	
Income during the year.....	90.00	\$105.00

Purchasing Fund.

Amount of Fund, October 1, 1909.....	\$ 4,000.00	
Increased during the year.....	111.38	
	\$ 4,111.38	
Expenditure.....	1,724.32	\$ 2,387.06

Charles Francis Washburn Fund.

Principal.....		\$ 5,000.00
Income during the year.....		225.00

1910.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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Centennial Fund.

Principal.....	\$12,535.00
Income during the year.....	249.26

Eliza D. Dodge Fund.

Principal.....	\$ 3,000.00
Income during the year.....	67.50

Hunnewell Fund.

Principal.....	\$ 5,000.00
Income during the year.....	112.50

Special Gifts.

To be expended for British Museum Catalogue	\$450.00
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A. G. BULLOCK,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1910, have been examined by W. Thane Boyden, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct and properly vouched is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,
HENRY A. MARSH.

Auditors.

October 3, 1910.

WORCESTER, MASS., Oct. 3, 1910.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1910, and find same to be correct and properly vouched.

W. THANE BOYDEN,
Accountant.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

In making my second annual report as Librarian of the Society, I shall endeavor to give a brief account of the important accessions of the year and an indication of the growth of the Library especially in those departments in which it attempts to specialize. The plan adopted last year of strengthening those collections in which the Library is already strong, with the aim of making the Society preeminent, above all others in its chosen fields, has been consistently followed. The accessions for the year total 3,652 bound volumes, 4,854 pamphlets, 337 miscellaneous pieces, such as maps, engravings and broadsides, and 13,270 issues of early newspapers. This rather large number of acquisitions has been brought about by the purchase of two special collections and by the occurrence of three auction sales in New York and Boston where the field of early Americana was strongly featured. A list of donors is appended to the report.

The collection of early American imprints has been notably strengthened during the year. Exactly 2,592 titles of books and pamphlets printed in the United States between 1701 and 1820 have been added to the Library, a total in itself of perhaps one-thirtieth of all the titles printed in that period. By collecting in so comprehensive a way, we have obtained books on almost every subject within the realm of knowledge, with history, politics, law, education and religion predominating. The synthetic value of such a collection is striking, for every phase of early American life can here be studied, and with increasingly fruitful results as the collection is enlarged. A year ago the conjecture

was made that this Library possessed about one-third of all the titles printed in the United States before 1820. Although questioned by some at the time, subsequent tests have shown that this seems even under the truth. Three years were chosen at random from Evans's "American Bibliography," which most nearly approaches completeness of any work on its subject, and the Library was examined to find how large a proportion of the titles there entered were possessed by us. Of 1,379 entries made in the three years the Society has 541, or 39 per cent. Other tests made on a smaller scale in no case show that the proportion of one-third of the total number of titles known has been overestimated.

The largest accession of early imprints was purchased from a Philadelphia collector and is devoted solely to books and pamphlets printed in Pennsylvania between 1785 and 1800. This collection, which numbers nearly 1,000 titles, was originally formed to supplement Hildburn's "Issues of the Pennsylvania Press." It is especially strong in the publications issued by the Congress then meeting in Philadelphia, and in the various political pamphlets of the period. The original owner, in writing regarding the collection, says, "Among the books are a number of rare items, such as the *Hamilton Scandal* and the *Kirchen Formularium* pamphlets, of which I think there are but three other known copies. Of course, many of them are not scarce, but it is the result of years of collecting. I have been particular to preserve varying editions, such as those printed on thick or thin paper, and have improved the collection from year to year by the substitution of better copies. Now that I have decided to dispose of the books I shall feel kind of lonely without them, as they have been at my home ever since I began gathering them, years ago."

At one of Libbie's auction sales last January the Society obtained a considerable number of books printed at the German presses in Pennsylvania during the 18th century, a feature of American printing in which we were hitherto rather deficient. Among the 53 titles

purchased are the second Saur Bible printed at Germantown in 1776, and the "Blutige Schau-Platz" of 1748, one of the most splendid productions of the Ephrata press.

Among the rarer imprints added to the Library are to be noted four tracts by Cotton Mather, "The Young Man's Preservative," 1701, "Nunc Dimittis," 1709, "Agricola," 1727, and "Corderius Americanus," 1774; also a tract by Increase Mather, "Sermons on the Beatitudes," 1719, and "A Course of Sermons on Early Piety," 1721. Other noteworthy titles are "Conductor Generalis," printed by Andrew Bradford at Philadelphia in 1722, "An Account of the Number of Inhabitants in the Colony of Connecticut," 1774, and a hitherto unrecorded pamphlet, "Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the Continental Congress," printed at Albany in 1774. Several rare volumes of Colonial laws have been purchased, among them the Rhode Island Laws of 1730 and of 1745, the Pennsylvania Acts of 1782, the Maryland Laws of 1727, and the "Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Constitutions of the City of New York," printed in 1763. This last volume, which is a splendid copy with a preliminary page rubricated, is so exceedingly rare as to be missing from nearly all the large collections, including even the New York Public Library.

Our collection of early American almanacs has been considerably strengthened during the year, no less than 921 new titles having been obtained. Of this number 237 date before 1800 while all but a few date before 1850. Among the more interesting almanacs noted are Bowen's "New-England Diary," Boston, 1722, the "Civil, Military and Ecclesiastical Register of New Hampshire" of 1772, which has a record sale value of \$525, and an eighteenth century file of the Stafford almanacs printed at New Haven from 1777 to 1799, two of which are not mentioned in Trumbull's Bibliography. Early in the year, Dr. Charles L. Nichols purchased in London a large and valuable collection of almanacs containing



MAIN HALL, LOOKING WEST

many rare issues, and generously presented them to the Library. It is to be hoped that his exceptional knowledge of this branch of American bibliography may be preserved in printed form for the everlasting benefit of future scholars. The Society is rapidly acquiring one of the most comprehensive existing collections of almanacs in the country, the growth of which can be instanced by a case in point. A list recently made of almanacs printed in Connecticut from the earliest date shows 843 issues. Of these the Library has 560 issues, considerably more than any public collection in Connecticut. The same statement applies to New Hampshire and probably to many of the other states. When judged by a single issue, almanacs seem of little historical value, but when consulted in long, continuous files, they frequently prove to be most useful. Not only do they give the tables of roads and statistical material, but they furnish, as do few other printed productions, information regarding the establishment and growth of the printing-press in the community in which they were issued, a point that appeals strongly to a library which seeks, as we do, to collect everything that bears upon the history of American printing.

The Society's collection of genealogies, has received 72 new titles, chiefly of family histories published during the past three years. The so-called "science" of genealogy has been occasionally scoffed at by the more serious-minded of the historical school, who assert that it appeals only to the student's selfish instincts and seldom results in any general advantage. Such study, however, may incite the student to better things, and at least brings him into contact with much historical source-material which would otherwise be left untouched. Without arguing the merits and defects of genealogical study, it may safely be claimed that family histories form a most important part of any library which specializes in American history or desires a good reference collection. In this Library, probably half of our references are for purposes other than genealogical. The

late librarian of the Massachusetts State Library pointed with pride to the shelves crowded with genealogies, for his collection was one of the most complete in the United States, and said, "There is the best cyclopedia of *Massachusetts* biography existing." And the same is true of any State. Now that orderly methods of arrangement and careful indexing have become a more prominent feature in publication, the genealogical collection has assumed a most important position in any large reference library.

Early American newspapers, as usual, have figured very largely in the accessions of the year, comprising 247 bound volumes and 13,270 issues not bound. These papers cover almost every State in the Union where newspapers were published previous to the Civil War. From every source available we have obtained them, from dealers all over the country, at auction sales, by gift from individuals, and through exchange with other libraries. The most notable acquisitions are a file of Vermont papers from 1819 to 1847 covering many of the smaller presses of the state, and a collection of Philadelphia newspapers from 1767 to 1818 comprising 5,250 issues and strengthening considerably our already excellent files of the journals of that city. Other files worthy of mention are the Connecticut Gazette 1789, the Connecticut Herald 1817-1825, the Connecticut Journal 1770-1830, the Supplements of the Hartford Courant, 1825-1869, the Newport Mercury, 1810-1875, the Providence Gazette, 1780-1825, the New York Shipping and Commercial List, 1827-1860, the New York Atlas, 1838-1872, and a series of early papers issued at Georgetown, D. C. With the income from the Davis Fund were obtained several important files of Mexican newspapers of the Civil War period, including "El Siglo Diez y Nueve," 1843-1855, "El Universal," 1848-1854, "Diario Oficial," 1867-1881, and "El Foro," 1873-1879.

The Society is deeply indebted to the Essex Institute, the Library of Yale University, the Library of Congress

and the Westborough Historical Society for the gift and exchange of newspapers much needed to complete our files. Especially appreciated is the action of the Westborough Historical Society, which, through its President, Rev. S. I. Briant, deposited in this Library its collection of miscellaneous newspapers comprising 75 bound volumes and containing over 5,000 issues of journals printed between 1811 and 1847. This collection included the early papers of nearly every state east of the Mississippi River and went far to strengthen our files in the second quarter of the last century in which period occur most of our deficiencies. Such a generous act on the part of a kindred Society is quite in accord with the modern spirit of the centralization of special classes of material in special libraries.

A beginning has been made in indexing the Society's valuable collection of maps. Over 1,600 cards have been written, cataloguing all of the rolled maps and many of the loose maps, all preparatory to their final arrangement in the commodious map room in the new building. The President of the Society, who has taken much interest in the subject of early American maps, has devised a scheme of map indexing, and, furthermore, has presented to the Library a collection of 112 American maps and charts purchased in London. The Society has also acquired both series of Hulbert's reproductions of the Crown Maps in the British Museum, which form a most important addition to our knowledge of colonial cartography.

The income of the various funds has been used during the year for additions to special collections. Through the John and Eliza Davis Civil War Fund, we have filled several gaps among the regimental histories and obtained a number of Civil War newspaper files. The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Fund has been used for the purchase of many books upon Mexico and Spanish America. Among the rarer volumes procured during the year are Vetancurt, "*Arte de lengua Mexicana*," 1673, Quintana, "*Confessionario Mixe*," 1733, and Palou,

"*Relacion de Junipero Serra*," 1787. At the meeting of the Council in March 1910, the provisions of both of these Davis funds were slightly altered through the kindness of Mr. Edward L. Davis and Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis to allow the Society to use the income in excess of that needed for the specific objects of the funds, for the general purposes of this Society. The Francis H. Dewey Fund has given us some valuable volumes of colonial law, as well as useful biographical material relating to the legal profession. The Haven Fund, the Chandler Genealogical Fund and the Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund have each provided income for their respective subjects, although the two latter funds yield but \$25.00 and \$50.00, scarcely enough to enable us to obtain even the currently issued volumes upon such large subjects as genealogy and local history.

The most important gifts of the year have been from Professor Franklin B. Dexter, of the Council of the Society, who has presented us with two greatly needed sets, the "*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*," 1574-1700, in 13 volumes, and the splendid five volume Catalogue of the E. D. Church collection of Americana. Several members of the Society periodically send us collections of currently issued pamphlet and magazine publications, allowing us to sort from them those titles that we want and exchange or discard the remainder. In this way we are enabled to obtain much ephemeral material which comes within the scope of our collecting.

The process of calendaring and indexing the Society's collection of manuscripts has been steadily carried on during the year. A report on this special department of the Library, prepared by Mr. Charles H. Lincoln and covering not only the work of the year but that of the last three years, is printed as an appendix to this Report.

The routine Library work has been much interrupted by the preparations for transferring the collections into the new building. The great mass of miscellaneous un-

catalogued pamphlets has been arranged alphabetically by authors, all of the early imprints previous to 1820 have been arranged chronologically and alphabetically, and maps, portraits and engravings have been sorted, all with the purpose of facilitating our removal into new and more commodious quarters. The Library is now so crowded that all large accessions of material are forced to remain unopened in our overflow store-room on Summer Street, thus necessitating much inconvenience. The officers of the Library, as well as its users, are looking forward with eager anticipation to our installment in the new building.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,

Librarian.

REPORT ON MANUSCRIPTS.¹

Somewhat over three years' work has been expended to date upon the collation, classification and cataloguing of the Society's Manuscripts. During this period the 35,000 letters and papers in the manuscript room have been placed in well defined groups or arranged in a general alphabetical series. These groups have been examined in detail and made ready for consultation by students, and over 8,300 cards have been written in the preparation of a catalogue of the entire collection. For the groups of manuscripts which have been published in calendar form or in full, cross references have been made, adding greatly to the convenience with which the collections can be used.

Among the groups created from the miscellaneous mass of manuscripts existing in 1907 are the Sir William Johnson, the Col. John Bradstreet and the Isaiah Thomas collections centering about *individuals*, and the

¹ Prepared by Charles Henry Lincoln, in charge of manuscripts.

manuscripts by various writers relating to the Continental and United States Navy and Shays's Rebellion among *subjects* of historical interest. Large and noteworthy additions have been made to other collections in process of classification. Among these, the papers added to the Baldwin, Craigie, Curwen, Davis, Lincoln and United States Revolutionary groups are, perhaps, the most notable. As many other manuscripts have been gathered into smaller groupings or added to smaller collections than the ones named. This work of analysis and aggregation is slow and its amount difficult to realize once it has been done. In it much time has been spent, but none has been wasted, for this work is a necessary preliminary to efficient cataloguing.

Following this process of group formation the catalogue work has advanced steadily. For each collection of note a group card has been prepared summarizing the important features of the manuscripts therein contained and giving the names of most of the writers represented in the collection. Although the manuscripts of the Society are far from being calendared or even listed completely, the most difficult work upon the entire collection has been done. Until superseded by cards for individual items the card summarizing the group remains and, with the chronological arrangement adopted within the new group formations, the whole collection has been well opened to the investigator.

During the past year this work of calendaring individual manuscripts and making accessible the various groups of papers in the custody of the Society has progressed rapidly. Each year's advance makes that of the succeeding year more satisfactory and more evident. The segregation of a miscellaneous mass of letters and documents followed by their arrangement into natural groupings is ever the most difficult task for the cataloguer, although at the same time one of the most interesting of his duties. At the close of the year there remains considerable rich manuscript material in alphabetical or chronological arrangement not catalogued, but the work

of segregation is practically completed. Much of the rearrangement into groups has been done. Over 3,300 catalogue or calendar cards have been written since October, 1909, standing for approximately 7,000 manuscripts gathered into groups and effectively located by card entries.

Two illustrations will show the progress of this group formation. In 1907-1908 some 200 manuscripts centering about the personality of Isaiah Thomas were placed together as a nucleus for a Thomas Collection. During the year now closing nearly 300 letters from or to the Society's first President have been found in widely scattered places, and the size of the Thomas group has more than doubled. In like manner over 1,000 manuscripts have been added to the Christopher C. Baldwin collection, and half as many to the papers of William Bentley, in our Archives. The manuscripts have been listed or calendared and the Society is in a position to publish at any time a volume of the correspondence of any of these leaders in its history or to use the material contained in the correspondence as effective aid in describing or publishing many other manuscripts and papers which came to it through the work of these men.

In many instances the catalogue and calendar work has gone further. The Curwen Manuscripts, one of the most interesting groups in the possession of the Society, has been listed in full, making a total of 1,135 cards. In the same manner the Craigie and the French and Indian War groups have been catalogued on 598 and 497 cards respectively, and the 1,282 manuscript letters, papers and volumes of Christopher C. Baldwin have each been given individual entries. The William Bentley Manuscripts have been indexed. In this group of papers each writer represented has been given a card, making a total of over 400 entries for the group standing for a total of nearly 1,000 letters, but it has been impossible thus far to calendar each manuscript.

Other catalogue work has been done upon the more noteworthy series found among the miscellaneous papers, upon the Enoch Lincoln Manuscripts (over 750 cards)

upon the Manuscripts of the American Revolution (425 cards) and upon the William Paine Loyalist Manuscripts (175 cards). About fifty manuscripts relating to Colonial Massachusetts and Shays's Rebellion have also been arranged and listed.

Among the manuscripts not individually catalogued two groups deserve particular mention. These are the John Davis and William Paine family collections. One volume of the last named collection consists of manuscript letters to or from William Paine. The period covered is the ten years succeeding the war of the American Revolution, and the manuscripts supply a good illustration of the claims put forth by the Loyalists for their allegiance to Great Britain during the war. This collection has been roughly listed, and the first volume has been carefully carded. The other volumes relate to the Paine family and include particularly the F. W. Paine papers. These have been arranged but not individually catalogued.

Possibly of greater importance are the John Davis Manuscripts in four volumes to which extensive additions have been made during the past three years. Few statesmen have taken a more honorable position in American public life than did John Davis of Worcester. City, State and national politics are all made clearer by a study of these papers and they should be adequately catalogued by the Library if only to show the appreciation in which they are held. Much the same may be said of that other distinguished member of the Davis family, Isaac Davis. The papers of the latter, although in another field, are equally noteworthy with those of his cousin. Time has not allowed either of these collections to be more than arranged and mounted in volumes. They await the work of the cataloguer.

During the years 1907-1910 the following material from the manuscripts of the Society has been published:

The Manuscript Records of the French and Indian War 1754-1774, Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society XI. Worcester 1909, pp. 267.

A Calendar of the Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson, 1755-1774, Worcester, 1908, pp. 51.

A Calendar of the Manuscripts of Col. John Bradstreet, 1755-1777, Worcester, 1908, pp. 78.

A List of Additional Manuscripts of the French and Indian War, 1754-1767, Worcester, 1908, pp. 49.

The Journal of the Sir William Pepperrell Expedition against Louisbourg, March-Aug. 1745, kept by Benjamin Green, Worcester, 1910, pp. 51.

During the past year a fourteen-page description of the Manuscript Collections of the Society has also been published in volume four of the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 1910. A second description of the Society's manuscripts has been printed in the Handbook of Information issued by the Librarian in 1909.

Among other groups of manuscripts in the Archives of the Society prepared for publication, the following are the most noteworthy:

The Curwen Manuscripts, 1640-1775. This collection consists of over 1,100 entries and is one of the best collections in the Archives of the Society. These manuscripts would make a volume of approximately 400 pages. The Andrew Craigie Manuscripts, 1782-1819. About 600 manuscripts are in this collection. Among them are several series: (a) regarding the old Craigie House, (b) Policy of the Washington Government, and (c) Affairs of the Scioto Company. These papers are worthy of publication in full, making, with the calendars of other less important manuscripts in the collection, a volume of about 350 pages. The Isaiah Thomas Manuscripts. A part only of these papers are in the Society's Archives, but there is material sufficient for a volume of 300 pages forming a companion volume to the Thomas Diary. The Correspondence of Christopher C. Baldwin. Here are nearly 1,300 manuscripts dating from 1827 to 1835. An excellent volume of 350 pages can be prepared from these papers forming a companion volume to the Baldwin Diary. The Hull-

Eaton Correspondence during the Expedition against Tripoli, 1804-1805. Here are 34 manuscripts suitable for calendaring and a few deserving to be printed in full, covering, perhaps, 30 pages. The Merrick Manuscripts illustrating the Anti-Masonic Movement of 1830. There are 87 manuscripts in this group of which a few should be printed in full making a pamphlet approximating 40 pages. The Journal of an Expedition to Louisbourg, 1758-1760. This manuscript will make a companion volume to the Pepperrell Journal of 1745, the narratives being of nearly equal length. This is a beginning. There remains much other material worth publishing, notably the large collection of Levi and William Lincoln Manuscripts described in the Handbook of the Society, but no steps beyond listing have thus far been taken.

During the three years past, many things have of necessity been left in incomplete form. Much remains to be done before the Society's collections are adequately catalogued. Thus far 8,300 card entries have been made of which 6,500 represent each an individual manuscript. The 1,800 cards remaining list from two manuscripts to an entire group respectively. Lack of time to spend upon the Society's collections alone makes necessary the statement that much work remains to be done. If growth is expected, it is to be hoped most earnestly that this remaining work may be accomplished in the early future.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES H. LINCOLN.

Givers.

MEMBERS.

Ames, Herman V.
Baldwin, Simeon E.
Ballivian, Manuel V.
Barton, Edmund M.
Bingham, Hiram.
Bixby, William K.
Bowditch, Charles P.
Brigham, Clarence S.
Chase, Charles A.
Conant, Samuel M.
Davis, Andrew McF.
Davis, Edward L.
Dexter, Franklin B.
Doughty, Arthur G.
Engler, Edmund A.
Fernald, Merritt L.
Garcia, Genaro.
Green, Samuel A.
Greenough, Charles P.
Haynes, George H.
Hill, Benjamin T.
Jameson, J. Franklin.
Kinnicutt, Lincoln N.
Knapp, Shepherd.

Lincoln, Waldo.
Loubat, Joseph F.
Matthews, Albert.
McMaster, John B.
Medina, José Toribo.
Merriman, Daniel.
Moore, Clarence B.
Morse, Anson D.
Nelson, William.
Nichols, Charles L.
Paine, Nathaniel.
Paltsits, Victor.
Putnam, Frederick W.
Rice, Franklin P.
Rugg, Arthur P.
Suarez, Frederico Gonzalez.
Thomas, Allen C.
Updike, D. Berkeley.
Utley, Samuel.
Van Alsteine, Charles V.
Washburn, Charles G.
Weeden, William B.
Winship, George Parker.
Woods, Henry E.

Woodward, Samuel B.

NON-MEMBERS.

Andrews, Frank D.
Arnold, James N.
Ashmead, Henry G.
Baker, Henry M.
Banks, Benjamin A.
Barney, Everett H.
Bartholdt, Richard.
Bates, Theodore C.

Bennett, Frank P.
Benton, Joseph H.
Bicknell, Thomas W.
Bolton, Charles K.
Boman, Eric.
Brinsmade, Hobart.
Burrage, Henry S.
Burrill, Ellen M.

- Burrows, Charles W.
Cadle, Henry.
Carter, Mrs. William T.
Carus, Paul.
Cary, Otis.
Cary, Seth.
Casson, Herbert N.
Chase, T. Frederick.
Chase-Chace Family Association.
Clark, Henry S.
Clark, John C. L.
Colegrove, Louise.
Commons, John R.
Cornish, Louis C.
Cousins, E. M.
Cundall, Frank.
Currier, John T.
Cutter, Ephraim.
Davies, Thomas F.
Davis, Gherardi.
Davis, Thomas W.
Debar, Joseph.
De Forest, Mrs. Robert.
De Menil, Alexander N.
Depew, Chauncey M.
Donnelly, Mrs. Charles F.
Douglas, James.
Du Puy, Mrs. Maria W.
Dwight, Henry W.
Field, Walter T.
Fisher, Richard D.
Forbes, Mrs. William T.
Foster, Herbert D.
Fox, Irving P.
Frowd, Henry.
Gage, Mabel C.
Gage, Thomas W.
Gallinger, Jacob H.
Gardner, Lucie M.
Garver, Mrs. Austin S.
Gates, Burton N.
Gould, Alice B.
Gould, William E.
Grafton, Charles C.
Green, James.
Greenwood, L. H.
Hamilton, J. G. DeR.
Harriman, Frederick W.
Hart, Charles H.
Higginson, Thomas W.
Hoar, Charles N.
Hoar, George F., Memorial Fund,
Trustees of.
Hodges, Almon D., Jr.
Holden, James A.
Homan, J. A.
Irish, G. R.
James, W. P.
Jones, Matt B.
Kielin, Olive A.
Knight, Mrs. Henry S.
Kurtz, Alice W.
Lake, Albert E.
Lake, Arthur C.
Lamb, Fred W.
Lane, C. Chester.
Lane, Dr. Jennie T.
Lapham, Julia A.
Lawton, Mrs. S. E. Reed.
Lea, Arthur H.
Lee, John T.
Lee, Thomas Z.
Logan, James.
Lovell, Arthur T.
McAleer, George.
McFarland, Raymond.
Martzloff, Clement L.
Meany, Edmond S.
Medbury, Mrs. M. H.
Melvin, James C.
Mitchell, T. Alfred.
Moffat, R. Burnham.
Montgomery, Thomas L.
Moon, James H.
Moore, Mrs. N. Hudson.
Mott, Marshall E.
Mowry, William A.
Nutt, Charles.
Olin, William M.
Packard, Morrill N.
Pease, C. S.
Perry, Mrs. Anna M.
Randall, William I.
Ranger, Walter E.

Reynolds, Henry A.	Stevens, Henry.
Reynolds, Mrs. Henry A.	Stewart, Frank N.
Rider, Sidney S.	Stokes, Anson P., Jr.
Ritchie, John, Jr.	Stone, Benjamin H.
Ritter, A. Howard.	Taft, Russell W.
Roberts, Mrs. Edwin M.	Thompson, Slason.
Rosengarten, Joseph G.	Tilden, George L.
Sadler, Wilbur F., Jr.	Turner, John H.
Sage, John H.	Wakefield, George R.
Sanborn, John P.	Walker, Edwin S.
Sargent, George H.	Ware, Horace E.
Scott, F. W.	Warren, Fred D.
Scranton, G. E.	Warren, John G.
Scribner's, Charles, Sons.	Welch, Mrs. Ashbel.
Shaw, Joseph A.	Wesby, Joseph S.
Sinnett, Charles N.	White, Mrs. Caroline E.
Snape, William.	Wilder, Frank J.
Snowden, Yates.	Winslow, Samuel E.
Sonneck, Oscar G. T.	Wire, George E.
Spooner, Mrs. J. C.	Woods, Frederick A.
Stennett, William H.	Woodward, Lemuel F.

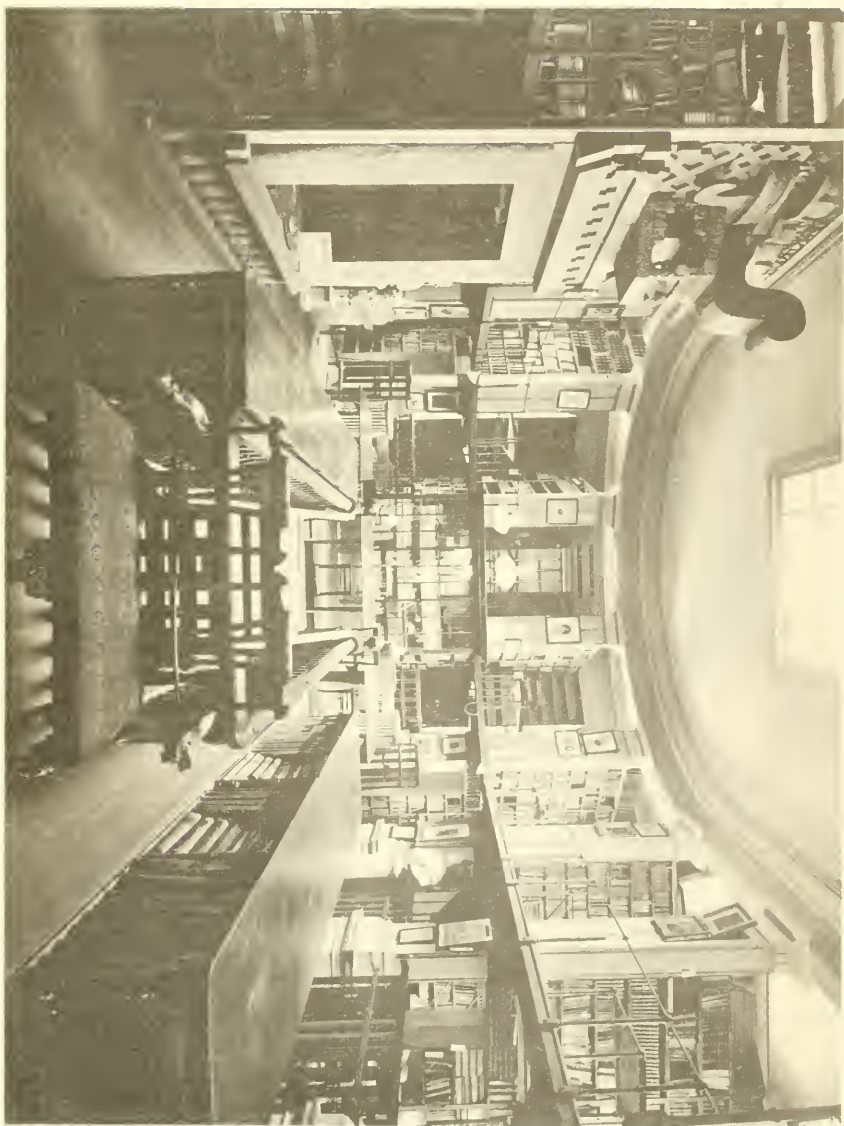
INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETIES.

Abbott Academy.
 Academie Royale d'Archeologie de Belgique.
 Academy of National Sciences of Philadelphia.
 Academy of Sciences of St. Louis.
 Alabama Historical Society.
 American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
 American Anti-Vivisection Society.
 American Association for International Conciliation.
 American Baptist Missionary Union.
 American Bison Society.
 American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
 American Catholic Historical Society.
 American Geographical Society.
 American Irish Historical Society.
 American Library Association.
 American Oriental Society.
 American Philosophical Society.
 American Seamen's Friend Society.
 American Society for Judicial Settlement of International Disputes.
 American Statistical Association.
 American Swedenborg Printing and Publishing Company.
 Amherst College.
 Andover Theological Society.

Australian Museum.
Bay State Historical League.
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.
Boston Board of Health.
Boston Cemetery Department.
Boston City Hospital.
Boston, City of.
Boston Law Book Company.
Boston Metropolitan Water Board.
Boston Public Library.
Boston Registry Department.
Boston Transit Commission.
Boston University.
Bostonian Society.
Bowdoin College.
Brockton Public Library.
Brookline Public Library.
Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.
Brooklyn Public Library.
Brown University.
Buenos Aires, Comision Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares.
Buenos Aires, Universidad de.
Buffalo Historical Society.
Buffalo Public Library.
Bunker Hill Monument Association.
Bureau de la Fondation pour l'Internationalisme, Amsterdam.
California State Library.
California, University of.
California Weekly Printing Co.
Cambridge Antiquarian Society.
Cambridge Bridge Commission.
Cambridge Historical Society.
Canada, Department of Mines.
Canadian Institute.
Carnegie Institution of Washington.
Chicago Historical Society.
Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.
Chicago, University of.
Cincinnati Public Library.
Clark University.
Colgate University.
Colonial Society of Massachusetts.
Colorado, University of.
Columbia University.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Connecticut Historical Society.
Connecticut Society of Colonial Wars.

Connecticut Society of Sons of the American Revolution.
Connecticut State Library.
Cornell University.
Dartmouth College.
Davenport Academy of Sciences.
Dedham Historical Society.
Detroit Public Library.
Dorchester Historical Society.
Dover Historical and Natural History Society.
Enoch Pratt Free Library.
Essex Institute.
Fairmount Park Association
Field Museum of Natural History.
Fitchburg, City of.
Fitchburg Historical Society.
Fitchburg Public Library.
Fitchburg Sentinel Printing Co.
Fobes Memorial Library.
Forbes Library.
Frankfort Memorial Library.
Geographical Society of Philadelphia.
Georgia Historical Society.
Groton Public Library
Hartford Theological Seminary.
Harvard University.
Haverhill Public Library.
Helena Public Library.
Historischer Verein der Oberfalz und Regensburg.
Hyde Park Historical Society.
Illinois Association Opposed to Extension of Woman Suffrage.
Illinois State Historical Society.
Illinois State Library.
Illinois, University of.
Indiana State Library.
International Bureau of American Republics.
Iowa Historical Department.
Iowa State Historical Society.
Jersey City Public Library.
John Carter Brown Library.
John Crerar Library.
Johns Hopkins University.
Laconia Public Library.
Lake County, Ind., Old Settlers and Historical Association.
Lake Mohonk Conference.
Lewis Publishing Co.
Library of Congress.
Long Island Historical Society.

Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.
Los Angeles Public Library.
Louisiana Historical Society.
Louisville Commissioners of Sewerage.
Maine Historical Society.
Manchester Historic Association.
Maryland Historical Society.
Maryland Peace Society.
Massachusetts Bureau of Labor.
Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living.
Massachusetts, Commonwealth of.
Massachusetts Historical Society.
Massachusetts Medical Society.
Massachusetts Public Record Commission.
Massachusetts Secretary of State.
Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants.
Massachusetts State Board of Health.
Massachusetts State Library.
Messenger Printing and Publishing Co.
Mexico, Instituto Medico Nacional.
Michigan, University of.
Milwaukee Public Library.
Minnesota Historical Society.
Mississippi Historical Society.
Mississippi Valley Historical Association.
Missouri Historical Society.
Missouri, University of.
Museo de la Plata.
Museo Nacional de Mexico.
Museum für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig.
Nashville American Printing Co.
Nashville, University of.
National Board of Trade.
National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.
Nebraska Historical Society.
Nevada, University of.
New Brunswick Historical Society.
New England Baptist Library Association.
New England Historic Genealogical Society.
New England Society in the City of New York.
New Hampshire Historical Society.
New Hampshire State Library.
New Haven Colony Historical Society.
New Jersey Historical Society.
New Jersey State Library.
New York Academy of Sciences.
New York Evening Post and Printing Co.



ANTHEN, BUILT 1877

New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.
New York Historical Association.
New York Peace Society.
New York Public Library.
New York State Education Department.
New York State Historical Society.
New York State Library.
New York, University of the State of.
Newberry Library.
Newport Historical Society.
North Carolina, University of.
Northborough Free Library.
Nova Scotia Institute of Science.
Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal.
Nuremburg, Natuhistorische Gesellschaft in.
Oberlin College.
Ohio Archæological and Historical Society.
Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society.
Ohio, University of.
Oklahoma Historical Society.
Oklahoma, University of.
Oregon Historical Society.
Oxford Public Library.
Peabody Historical Society.
Peabody Institute of Baltimore.
Peabody Museum.
Pennsylvania Historical Society.
Pennsylvania Society of New York.
Pennsylvania, University of.
Perkins Institution and Massachusetts School for the Blind.
Philadelphia Library Company.
Phillips Academy.
Portland Board of Trade.
Pratt Institute Free Library.
Princeton University.
Providence Public Library.
Quebec Literary and Historical Society.
Radeliffe College.
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.
Rhode Island Historical Society.
Rhode Island Library Association.
Rhode Island Society of Colonial Dames.
Rhode Island State Board of Health.
Rhode Island State Library.
Rosenberg Library, Galveston.
Royal Historical Society.
Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

Royal Society of Canada.
St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.
St. Louis Public Library.
Salem Press Company.
Salem Public Library.
Sharon Historical Society.
Smithsonian Institution.
Società di Storia Patria per la Sicilia Orientale.
Société d'Archeologie de Bruxelles.
Société de Géographie, Paris.
Société des Américanistes de Paris.
Société Historique Franco-Américaine.
Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France.
Société Portugaise de Sciences Naturelles, Lisbon.
Society of Antiquaries of London.
Society of Lincoln's Inn, London.
South Carolina Historical Society.
South Natick Historical, Natural History and Library Society.
Southern Historical Society.
Springfield City Library.
Stockholm, Royal Academy of Belles Lettres, History and Antiquaries
Swedish American Historical Society.
Syracuse Public Library.
Texas State Historical Association.
Topsfield Historical Society.
Toronto, University of.
Towle Manufacturing Company.
Trenton Public Library.
Typographic Library, Jersey City.
Union Pacific Railroad Company.
Union Theological Seminary.
United States Brewers' Association.
United States Bureau of American Ethnology.
United States Bureau of the Census.
United States Bureau of Education.
United States Department of Commerce and Labor.
United States Department of the Interior.
United States Department of War.
United States Superintendent of Documents.
United States, University of the.
Vermont Historical Society.
Vermont State Library.
Virginia Historical Society.
Virginia State Library.
Warren Academy of Sciences.
Washington Public Library.
Washington University State Historical Society.

Wesleyan University.
Westborough Historical Society.
Wisconsin Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Wisconsin Historical Society.
Wisconsin History Commission.
Worcester Art Museum.
Worcester Board of Health.
Worcester Board of Park Commissioners.
Worcester Board of Trade.
Worcester, City of.
Worcester City Hospital.
Worcester Free Public Library.
Worcester Gazette Company.
Worcester Natural History Society.
Worcester Polytechnic Institute.
Worcester Public Library.
Worcester Telegram Press.
Worcester Society of Antiquity.
Worcester South High School.
Worcester County Musical Association.
Yale University.
Young Men's Christian Association of North America.

THE PRESENT STATE OF HISTORICAL WRITING IN AMERICA.

I.

BY J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

The Present State of Historical Writing in America is a large subject. It is natural, when this Society stands so near to the hundredth anniversary of its foundation and is upon the threshold of a new building and, as we all hope, of a new stage in its activities, that the President should wish to mark the transition from the old conditions to the new by a thoughtful consideration of the actual status in America of that study to which the Society is dedicated. Such thought may enable us to enter upon the new era with a full consciousness of the setting in which this organization is to play its part, the *terrain* in which it is to manœuvre. The metaphors imply that the Society is not to drift, but to make a conscious and deliberate effort to relate its activities to the present status of historical science in this nation, and by such effort to advance that status. Yet how many difficult questions must be answered before we can fully describe this present condition of things, this stage of advancement which it is so important for us to understand! Merely to enumerate some of them may be somewhat profitable and impressive, but it will be obvious that no one brief paper can go far toward making real to us the whole circle of what we think to survey. What stage of progress have we reached in the accumulation of printed materials for history in our libraries, or of unprinted materials in our archives? How largely have the latter been reduced to order and made ready for the use of scholars? How

much have we done in the publication of documentary materials, what remains undone, and how well are we doing such work? What is the quantity and what the quality of our output of historical monographs? What is upon the average the mental calibre and what the training of those who make them? How do we stand with respect to the publication of histories of a higher order, marked by literary sense or the effort to generalize? How deep or how copious is American thought on the theoretical or philosophical aspects of history? How largely have our historical workers pursued, or appreciated, or been affected by, the advances made in the many other sciences to which history is more or less related? What are the present purposes, nature, and effects of American historical teaching, elementary, secondary, collegiate, or university, which after all represents far more than nine-tenths of the total effort expended on history in this country? In our universities, what is the status of research? How are our historical societies and journals performing their functions? What is the character of those books of history which most hold the public attention—so far as the public attention can be said to be held by any books whatever? What sort or quality of history is presented to the popular mind in the ten-cent magazines and the newspapers, which now constitute almost the sole reading-matter of American mankind?

Not one of these questions is easy to answer, yet all must be answered before we can adequately picture to ourselves the present state of historical writing in the United States. It is vain to make any attempt this morning to pursue them all, but it may not be vain to have enumerated them; for if then we perforce narrow the scope of the present paper to a consideration of a manageable portion of the whole field, we shall nevertheless do this with some consciousness of the relation which that portion bears to the whole unmanageable total.

In selecting a part of the field, it is natural for me to think of that which is represented by organized activi-

ties in the pursuit of history, partly because I have been for some years occupied with a corner of that lesser portion, rather than with literary histories, and have no doubt that

My nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand ;

and partly because it is much easier to make general and summary statements concerning the results of organized historical work than concerning those more various and literary activities and products which spring from the free spirit of the individual historical worker. We can apply the pedometer and the stop-watch to Pegasus in harness much more easily than to Pegasus in spontaneous aviation.

How then do we Americans stand with respect to organized historical work? The question may be answered by comparison with our status at some period in the past, by comparison with the stage of progress exhibited by the chief European nations, or by comparison with some ideal which, given our opportunities and our resources, we should be expected to have reached. It may also be answered by consideration of the various forms in which, in any country, historical work is usually found organized, the chief typical organizations for the pursuit of our study. If we choose to subdivide and classify, we may speak of the historical work of governments, of societies, of professional journals, of universities and colleges, and of co-operative organizations formed for the production of a given work. At all events these have been in this country the most significant forms in which historical work has been organized.

Intelligent democratic governments will usually show more tendency to subsidize such publications as make immediate appeal to the mass of mankind, such as will rapidly inform or educate great numbers of readers, than such as make their appeal to the few, teach the teachers of teachers, or lay secure foundations, far below the surface, for the best work of future generations. Relatively to the resources of the country, our federal

government turned out better historical work seventy years ago, in the days of President Sparks's volumes and the folio "American State Papers," than it has in more recent years, when it has become more perfectly democratic. But never did any government in the world's history pour forth such a mass of information regarding any great series of events, nor scatter the volumes of information so freely, as did our government in the case of the 128 volumes of the "Official Records of the War of the Rebellion." It is hardly less characteristic that our government historical volumes, whether well or ill executed, have been brought out casually and sporadically, with no previous and expert effort to form a comprehensive and systematic plan. A clerk of a committee thinks it would be an excellent thing to have a compilation of documents on the history of a given matter, and that he is the ideal man to prepare it. He readily persuades his chairman, the chairman somewhat less readily persuades the committee, the committee perhaps persuades Congress, and we have one more historical "pub. doc.," possibly in several volumes, possibly worth having, but very likely not half so useful to the cause of history as twenty other compilations that could be suggested. Efforts to improve this course of procedure, to provide the government with a steady supply of expert advice on documentary historical publications, are under way, and a bill is before Congress, but its fate is of course by no means certain. Under the present system, or want of system, in selecting what shall be done and who shall do it, our government's historical publications are, on the average, not only far inferior to those of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Austria, but even to those of small countries like Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Denmark.

In respect to our State governments, a various tale is to be told. Many of our newer states, in the West and South, are putting forth most creditable work, worthy of being compared with what countries of equal population and resources in Europe accomplish.

Examples are Wisconsin,—a commonwealth having perhaps the most enlightened and progressive government in the United States,—Iowa, Illinois, North Carolina, and Virginia. These States and some others have put their historical work into the hands of persons who know not only how such things should be done, but also what is worth doing, facing with fresh and open minds the question, What has been really important in the development, social, economic, and political, of a nineteenth-century democratic community? Most of the older and richer State governments of the northeast, on the other hand, have steadily maintained antiquated and conventional views as to what is worth while in documentary historical publication. That of Massachusetts has for fifty years displayed the most astonishing indifference to her history, publishing almost nothing out of the rich stores of her archives, in a period in which a dozen American States and nearly a dozen European countries have revolutionized the writing of their histories by extended and judicious publication of fresh original materials. Other of the eastern States have continued to putter with muster-rolls and the military records of wars already well known, quite as if no breath of new life had swept across the historical field since the early days of Victoria and Van Buren. Here again a defective organization is frequent, while in the West and South large results have been derived by either one of two excellent modern systems, that of the state-supported historical society, best exemplified in Wisconsin, or that of the state historical commission or department, exemplified by North Carolina and Mississippi.

On the whole it is our historical societies that have made the largest gains in productivity during the last twenty-five years. The number of those which are in active existence is very great, probably more than two hundred, a far larger number than those of Great Britain, and perhaps as large as that of the strictly historical societies of France or of Germany. The number of members is still more impressive. There are

ten thousand members of historical societies reported in Pennsylvania alone. The pecuniary resources of these societies are also great. No doubt they form the richest body of such societies in the world. Their buildings are certainly worth in the aggregate as much as two million dollars, their libraries more than a million, their endowments something between one and two millions. Doubtless the work which they are doing, in the way of research and publication, is not always in full proportion to their wealth, but it is very much better than it was twenty-five years ago. They are less inclined to print essays written by their members, often discursive or of temporary utility, more inclined to print documentary materials, which will have in the future the same original value they have at present. The number of members sufficiently educated in history to insist on good workmanship in the published products of the society has greatly increased. This is especially true in the eastern States. The number has also greatly increased of those who, having a keen practical eye to the uses of history, make or sustain the societies' efforts to direct attention toward those elements in state or local history which have the highest degree of real importance. Such members, persons who see state or local history in its broad relations to national history, and disregarding tradition take up those topics that promise most in the way of fresh and vital instruction, are naturally more numerous among the more open-minded men of the West. The eastern societies are still prone to pursue a certain number of conventional themes—the early voyages, the Indians, the battles of the Revolution, the interminable biographies of deceased members. They are also, as we should expect, little inclined to lift their eyes over their own state borders and take broad national views. In five years of work in Washington, so circumstanced that I am likely to know of historical researches undertaken in national archives or library, I have hardly known an instance in which the publishing authorities of any

eastern historical society have set on foot any serious researches in those great and rich repositories. Seldom indeed do they touch the period since 1783.

Nevertheless much has been gained. Twenty-five years ago the publications of most of our historical societies seemed, at least to impatient young minds, hopelessly provincial and unscholarly. But we were then just at the beginning of a new period in all our historical work. The preceding generation had felt the influence of the best European standards in the domain of historical literature, ours was to feel it in the domain of historical criticism. Prescott and Motley were of the school of Thierry and Mignet, Bancroft a disciple of Heeren; we were to be followers of Ranke. A generation of criticism of sources could not fail to have its effect on societies largely devoted to their publication. Exactness of text, minute care in annotation, adequate attention to bibliography, elaborateness of indexing, characterize the volumes put forth by most of our historical societies, even though sometimes they are applied to materials of trivial importance, hardly worth the pains expended upon them.

Besides this improvement in method on the part of our state and local historical societies, we are to note the growth in recent years of many historical organizations whose scope is national. Foremost among these is the American Historical Association, founded in 1884, and already the largest, and presumably the most useful, historical society in the world. Others, while not limited geographically in their scope, are devoted to the American history of a single religious denomination. It is noteworthy that the American Jewish Historical Society and the corresponding Catholic organization have been much more fruitful of good works than the historical societies founded in the various Protestant bodies, which have hardly awakened to the value and interest attaching to American religious history.

Another interesting growth of recent years is the group of organizations devoted to the history of the

various ethnic elements which have entered into the population of the United States—such as the German American Historical Society, the excellent Swedish Colonial Society, and that larger association for Scandinavian-American history which seems now to be in process of formation. No one who appreciates how important it is to the American life of these newer elements that they should remember and respect the culture they brought with them, can fail to regard these as among the most useful of our historical societies. Useful to their members, they are capable of being doubly useful to the rest of us, who are prone constantly and enormously to underestimate all but the English element in American development, prone to take the view assumed by the London paper of August, 1909, which thanked Heaven that the North Pole, though unhappily not discovered by an Englishman, had yet been discovered by an Anglo-Saxon—meaning the celebrated Dr. Cook, *geboren* Koch!

In our survey, then, of the present state of historical writing among us, we may look with legitimate complacency upon the stage of development which our historical societies have attained. It is true that there are at least forty historical societies in Europe which are doing work of a grade hardly attained by more than two or three of ours. It is disquieting that in so rich a country there should not be a larger number of well-to-do amateurs engaged in the work of these societies, which normally would attract the interest of well-to-do amateurs in a very high degree—so at least one would expect, and so it has been in other countries and periods. But the disinclination of the American rich to intellectual production is evinced in many another field, and at all events the outlook for our societies is in most ways encouraging.

Of our historical journals most of the same things are to be said which have been said of the societies. Nearly all of them, indeed, are organs of particular societies, and cannot be expected to rise in quality, or

in influence upon other historical work, above the grade fixed for them by the qualities of the societies from which they spring. I may be permitted to say much the same of the general organ of the profession, the "American Historical Review." Without denying or palliating faults in the editing, one may safely say in general terms that it is about what the status of historical science among us permits it to be. Its chief articles seem to me to compare favorably with those in some of the better sort of European journals. Its reviews of books are inferior. In the first place, we have not developed so large a class of persons who, whether they themselves write or not, are accomplished judges of what historical books should be. In the second place, there are many subjects or fields, especially in European history, in which no American has acquired a large amount of expert knowledge, partly because our remoteness from European archives and libraries has made it a difficult matter to acquire such familiarity, except in fields for which the sources have to a great extent already been published. Finally, there is the well-known excess of our national amiability, heightened in the case of the historical profession by the friendly and truly fraternal feelings which frequent meetings in the sessions of the American Historical Association, and frequent participation in common tasks for its service, have engendered. It is a beautiful trait, rooted in benign conditions of social development, but it stands in the way of incisive criticism. I should be sorry to see our *Gelehrten* speaking of each other as the Germans still sometimes do, but if they would be more rigid in their standards and more plain-spoken in their criticisms, they would do more to improve American work.

When we come to speak of the American universities as part of our machinery for historical production, it is impossible to repress a certain feeling of disappointment. Thirty years ago, when the Johns Hopkins University was beginning its extraordinary mission in the higher education, and graduate work in the

United States was in its infancy, we all felt that a historical professor had it as one of his normal functions to produce historical books at frequent intervals, and that the young man whom he was training in the preparation of a doctoral dissertation was, in the normal case, producing simply the first in a long series of historical monographs. Time and the vast hordes of youths eager to acquire collegiate education (or of parents eager to pay for it) have somewhat undeceived us. The truth is, that more than half of our historical professors do not produce anything at all, and most of the others produce only very slowly: and the doctoral dissertation, instead of being the first in a long series of *Arbeiten*, has been in more than nine cases out of ten, by actual calculation, the young man's sole and last contribution to his science. Doubtless the prime duty of a college teacher is to teach, and the multitudes clamoring more or less actively for historical instruction should receive it; but one cannot resist the wish that the young teacher might, like the young oyster, be carried by artificial means across that critical period of danger to his life which ensues when he is first compelled to go forth into a world of pressure and struggle.

The authorities of universities still appreciate that original research is necessary to the mental health of professors and to their highest usefulness as teachers, and are in some degree aware that, from the point of view of the nation at large, it is a pity that so large a body of persons specially trained for historical investigation should be debarred from it; but there seems to be little chance of immediate remedy in the case of most teaching professors. Meanwhile, however, some of the most enterprising of the western State universities, taking a leaf out of their experience in the sustaining of agricultural and other scientific research, have begun an interesting experiment by the appointment of men who are not expected to teach, but to occupy themselves with historical researches deemed especially useful to the State. Much may be done by such especial foun-

dations; but it will be remembered that bright expectations of the same sort were entertained concerning fellowships thirty years ago, when they were first installed in our system.

Last among the forms of organized historical work to be considered is the general history produced by co-operation. Not unknown in previous centuries, this *genre* of historical composition has especially flourished during the last generation. Spain, France, England, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Mexico, all have furnished excellent examples. Twenty-five years ago the United States provided an elaborate one in Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History," and has not surpassed it since. The merits to be expected from such undertakings, in an age of specialization, are obvious. As literary products, as efforts toward the profounder interpretation of the national life, they are sure to suffer from the prescription of uniformity among their component parts. They will usually succeed better in the summing up of results already achieved by the writers of monographs than in the pioneer work of developing new thoughts or opening up new fields of research.

In non-literary labors, however, in the plodding mechanical work of bringing additional bodies of material to the knowledge of students or making them accessible in print, there is a far greater field for co-operative endeavor than is commonly realized. This is a subject especially deserving the attention of American historical societies. We are a nation notoriously apt for organization. Our librarians, our scientific men, our teachers, have shown conspicuous success in bringing about valuable results through co-operation. The more plastic historical organizations of our western States have lately shown their ability to unite by engaging in a most interesting common task, the making of a calendar of all the papers in the French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley—a task transcending the scope of any one of these organizations,

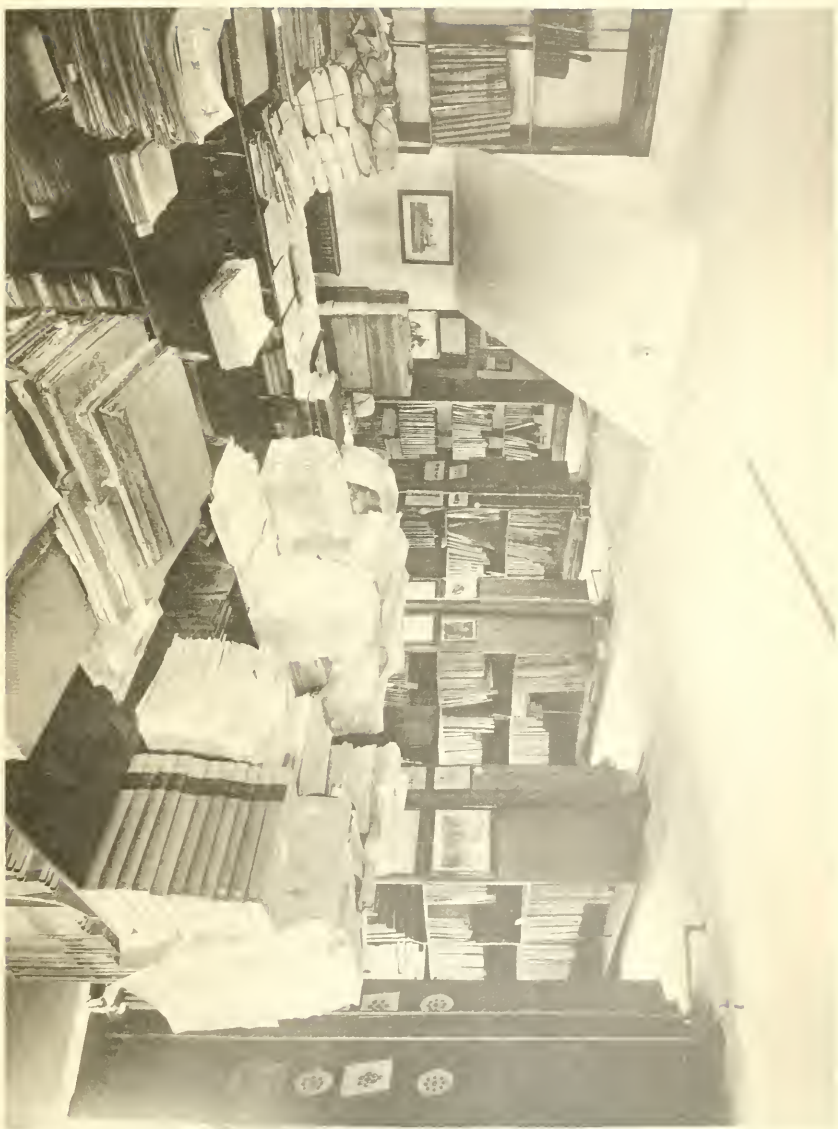
yet which would bring almost unlimited duplication and waste if each should attempt independently to perform its own local part of the whole. The historical societies of the East have hitherto shown almost no sign of the ability or the wish to co-operate, though it would be easy to name a score of undertakings which especially invite co-operative labor. To take an imaginary instance, yet not wholly imaginary, let us suppose that one of the New England societies or states possesses a part of the essential materials for the study of the régime of Andros and Dudley, another society, another portion, and so on. Can anyone commend a procedure whereby each society, without concert with the others, publishes (or neglects to publish) solely the fragments of the whole mass which it happens to have in its building? Can the historian be well served by the result—one part printed on one system in 1850, let us say, another part printed on another system in 1900, a third part still reposing in manuscript, and all parts treated on the basis of the accident of possession? It is but an ideal illustration, but the principle is a practical one, of frequent application. Situated as the American Antiquarian Society is with respect to the more local historical societies of the eastern States, it is ardently to be hoped that, in the new era opening before it, a considerable part of its duty may be felt to be the promotion of broad-minded and active co-operation among its fellow societies.

The picture I have attempted to draw of the state of organized historical work among us is not altogether a gratifying one. But I am much attached to that saying of Bishop Butler, "Things are as they are, and the consequences of them will be what they will be; why then should we deceive ourselves?" I see no occasion in these matters to be either optimist or pessimist. Much better and more rational than either, is to be a meliorist, believing that conditions are improving, doing one's part to make them improve.

II.

BY JOHN BACH MCMASTER.

Had some member of our Society, at its first meeting nearly a century ago, undertaken to review the state of historical writing in our country since the Revolution, his task would have been easy. A History of New England by Hannah Adams, a couple of works on the Revolution by Ramsay, American Annals or Chronological History of America from its Discovery by Abiel Holmes, Marshall's Life of Washington, Minot's History of Shays's Rebellion, a View of South Carolina by Drayton, and a View of the United States by Tench Coxe, a History of Virginia, another of Pennsylvania, another of the District of Maine and Minot's Province of Massachusetts Bay, would about complete the list. Conspicuous by its absence from the list is a class of historical works for the production of which the time was well fitted. Thirty years had passed since the surrender of Yorktown, and two and twenty since Washington took the oath of office as first President of the United States. That the rebellion of the thirteen colonies, the fight for independence, the partition of the British Empire, the desperate struggle for life which followed the Peace of Paris, the adoption of the Constitution, and the starting of the little republic on a career of astonishing prosperity were events of no common sort in the history of mankind was well known to the Fathers. Yet none of them thought it worth while to write out for posterity a full and truthful narrative of the part he played in the founding of a great nation. Some five and forty years separate us from the surrender at Appomattox; and our library shelves are loaded with books written by those who were conspicuous in the struggle for the preservation of the nation. Nothing of this sort was done by the men who witnessed the Revolution, the fall of the Confederacy and the adoption of the Constitution. Those who wrote produced books of little interest to posterity. We could easily



NEWSPAPER ROOM

spare the Notes on Virginia if the author had devoted the hours spent on the composition of it to the writing of a monograph on the Framing, Adoption, and Signing of the Declaration of Independence, or "My Own Story" of his stormy administration. We should be glad to exchange, a Defense of the Constitution of Government of the United States of America, for the Personal Memoirs of John Adams while a member of the Continental Congress, while peace commissioner, minister to Holland, and Great Britain, and President of the United States. We should much prefer a narrative by Monroe of his diplomatic experience in Spain, England and France, to his Examination of the Conduct of the Executive. The writing of history in those days was little better than a pastime to which gentlemen of literary taste might turn from more serious occupations. Histories of States, histories of towns were written, but no work of wide range and serious importance was undertaken till well past the first quarter of the century.

Meantime the basis for such a work, a great body of original material, was slowly being formed. Such Historical Societies as existed, put forth their Collections, Transactions, Proceedings, some State papers and public documents were printed; biographies of a few of the Revolutionary leaders were written, and more than forty books of travel, by foreigners and natives in various parts of our country, were published. This was a good beginning and in the decade which followed 1830, a great stride forward was taken. Jared Sparks, our pioneer in historical literature, opened it with the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution. Then came his Life of Gouverneur Morris, the series known as the Library of American Biography, the Works of Franklin, and the Writings of Washington. The assaults made by later editors on his methods and his texts are well founded. But he deserves to be remembered as the first man to ransack the archives of States and families at home and abroad in search of the materials of our history, and bring together and make accessible

a vast quantity of papers scattered over the land in public and private collections. The decade was notably rich in source material. To it belong Irving's *Voyages of the Companions of Columbus*—a companion piece to his *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (1828-1831), the *American Archives of Peter Force*, *Elliot's Debates* in the several State Conventions on the Federal Constitution, *The Life, Correspondence and Papers of John Jay*, and Gilpin's collection of the papers of Madison. What is even more interesting, it was in this decade that the first great American historian made his appearance. When in 1834, George Bancroft published the first volume of a *History of the United States*, he stepped at once into the front ranks of historical writers. His style no longer appeals to us. The tone of exaltation, the liberty which he took with quotations have often been condemned. But his widespread and long continued search for original documents, his accuracy in the statement of facts marked him out as a real historian; and to him belongs the honor of having placed the writing of history in our country on a high plane of scholarship and of starting it on an honorable career. His point of view was that of the philosophical historian. He analyzes the characters of men, and from history, as he narrates it, draws lessons of political wisdom. The sociological side interested him not at all. The period which he covered lacks but three years of three centuries. Yet the astonishing changes in manners and customs, which separated the Americans who adopted the Constitution from the English colonists who founded Jamestown and Plymouth, find no place in his pages.

For a decade and a half Bancroft was without a rival in his chosen field. The writers of history were more busy than ever. Histories of cities, histories of towns, histories of States, mostly worthless, and biographies of men great and small came by scores and hundreds from the press. Above the mass of busy writers there rose a few masters who, thinking the annals of their own land too prosaic, sought and found their

themes elsewhere. Prescott, before 1850, took the reading public by storm with his *Ferdinand and Isabella*, his *Conquest of Mexico*, and *Conquest of Peru*; and ere another decade went around Hildreth had written the history of our country from the discovery of the New World to 1821, Palfrey was at work on his *History of New England*, and Motley had made himself famous in the *Old World and the New* by his *Rise of the Dutch Republic*.

Thus was it when the Civil War opened; three of our countrymen had produced works so important in their subject matter, so broad in scope, so scholarly and so well written as to entitle them to a place among the world's great writers of history. A fourth who, in the opinion of many, has outstripped the three, had opened his story of the French in America with the *Conspiracy of Pontiac*. Each one of them belonged to the literary and dramatic school of historians. It was by no mere accident that Motley began his literary career with a novel called *Merry-Mount*, and Parkman his with *Vassall Morton*. These bespoke their type of mind. The things that would interest them in history would be, not the great masses of toiling men, not the silent revolutions by which nations pass from barbarism to civilization, from ignorance to knowledge, from poverty to wealth, from feebleness to power, but the striking figures of history, great Kings and Queens, the leaders of armies, men renowned for statescraft, and the dramatic incidents in the life of nations. Each must have his hero and his villain, his plots, conspiracies and bloody wars. Just as Froude had his Henry VIII; just as Macaulay had William III, Carlyle his Robespierre and Cromwell, and Thiers his Napoleon, so Motley had his William of Orange and Philip of Spain, Prescott his Cortez, Pizzarro, Ferdinand and Isabella, and Parkman his Pontiac, Frontenac and La Salle. History as viewed by writers of this school is a series of dramas in each of which a few great men perform the leading parts and use the rest of mankind as their instruments. And what could be more dramatic than the periods they

chose—Spain at the height of her power and glory, the Conquest of Mexico and Peru, the struggle of France and England for possession of North America, the rending of the Empire of Philip II.

The Conspiracy of Pontiac met with little favor at home or abroad. But very different was the reception given him when fourteen years later he published the *Pioneers of France in the New World*, and followed at intervals of two years by *The Jesuits in North America*, and *La Salle*, and the *Discovery of the Great West*. These were masterpieces. The incidents were dramatic, the characters strongly drawn, the setting of forest and prairie, lake and frontier, was picturesque, and the well told narrative as interesting as fiction. No finer examples of this particular school of history are to be found in any language.

By the close of the sixties much of the early history of our country had thus been covered by writers of distinction. Irving had told the story of the discovery of the new world, Bancroft that of the English colonies from their settlement to the Revolution, Parkman that of the French in Canada and the Valley of the Mississippi. But the history of the United States from the admission of Missouri where Hildreth left it, was still unwritten. The material for history was diligently gathered. Biographies, histories of States, recollections, memoirs, books and pamphlets on every possible phase of slavery and its issues, diaries, compilations of the speeches and letters of statesmen, were produced in abundance; but no attempt was made to tell the story of the last forty years. The march of a people across a continent, breaking prairies, clearing farms, constructing steamboats, railways, canals, opening routes of trade and commerce and building towns and cities as they went, and dealing with grave financial, industrial, and economic questions with a boldness and on a scale nowhere else attempted, furnished none of the dramatic incidents which appealed so strongly to the historians of the school then in high favor.

With the close of the Civil War, however, a great change began in historical writing. Since that time the history of our country has been written and rewritten in the greatest detail. Not only does that dreadful struggle mark the end of an era in our national life as distinct as that of the war for independence, but it also marks the beginning of a change in our point of view of our history. This was manifested in the first place by the eagerness with which every scrap of information regarding the war has been collected and printed, an eagerness not shown by those who took part in the Revolution. Scarcely had the smoke of battle cleared away when the participants on both sides from the highest to the lowest made haste to tell of their part in the war. We have histories of particular battles and particular campaigns, of regiments, brigades, corps and armies, narratives of life in the prisons, and of escapes from the prisons, of blockade runners, of private soldiers; memoirs, Personal Memoirs, Own Story, by generals and admirals on both sides, and of men who filled high places in the State. The Federal Government at a cost of several millions has published the official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies and Navies, many of the States have done the same, and Military Societies have been organized to gather and preserve authentic material.

The interest in our history aroused by the Civil War was still further stimulated by the centennials of the battles and events of the Revolution, by the founding of Patriotic Societies, and by the establishment in our Universities and Colleges of chairs of American History. The result has been both bad and good. Bad, in that it has brought forth books utterly worthless as histories and designed to catch the popular interest and enrich the publisher. Good, in that it has led to a study of our history with a care and detail such as was never made before. No part of it has been passed by, and much of it has been rewritten. The part covered by Bancroft has been traversed in far more attractive form by Mr. Fiske, and is now being rewritten in a truly

scholarly way by Mr. Osgood and Dr. Channing. Mr. Schouler has written our history from the close of the Revolution to the Civil War, Von Holst our Constitutional History to 1861, Justin Winsor edited the Narrative and Critical History of America to 1840, Wilson the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, Frothingham the Rise of the Republic of the United States; and the whole story from Columbus to the end of the nineteenth century has been told in the American Nation, edited by Dr. Hart. Special periods have called forth the remarkable histories of Mr. Henry Adams and Mr. Rhodes. From the graduate schools of our Universities have come year after year monographs of no mean sort. Material for the history of our country is collected in no one place. A part is in the Old World buried in the archives and libraries of England, France and Spain. A part is at home scattered over all the land from Maine to California in the archives of six and forty states, in a thousand libraries and in private hands. Travel which a search for it entails is costly both in time and money. And so great is its bulk that the mere examination of it is beyond the span of life allotted to any man. The historian who should undertake to write even a century of our history, examining every source with the infinite care so necessary to a true understanding of every event, would assume a task physically impossible to perform. To him every well written monograph is a godsend indeed; and it should, in fairness to the hundreds of young men who have prepared such monographs, be said, that they have been exceedingly well done. And so, too, has much of the work of our later historians. They have found out that war and strife, treaties and conventions, the doings of great leaders and the platforms of great parties do not contribute all that is worth noting in the life of a people. They have found out that the invention of a labor saving machine, the discovery of a cure for some dread disease, may really be a more important event in the history of a nation than any battle its generals ever won, or any treaty its statesmen ever concluded.

III.

BY EDWARD CHANNING.

History is a mode of thought and expression. Historical writing is the application of the historical method to expression with pen and ink. Historical labor finds its activities in many directions. It may be grouped under three heads: (1) the collecting and printing of original sources; (2) the reporting on masses of material or on specific topics; (3) historical writing. The first two of these groups represent craftsmanship; the third division represents art. It is necessary for the elucidation of the ages to gather documents into storehouses and to make them accessible by various modes of arrangement, by convenient calendars and lists of one kind or another. Some of this material is in printed books; another part is composed of original manuscripts. Between these two divisions is a series of limited duplications by means of transcripts which are made by hand, or by the typewriter, or, in a more limited form, by photography. Of these the photograph is the best and, in view of the great improvements that are being made in photography, it might not be amiss to suggest that it would be well to postpone or to restrict the duplication of manuscripts until the time comes when they can be reproduced by the camera. The task of making accessible the tools of the historical writer is a necessary part of historical labor and those who engage in it deserve appreciation and recognition,—they are the altruists of the profession, in that they cut themselves off from the reputation-making forms of historical endeavor.

The second class of historical labor presents itself to the mind under the words reports, theses, and doctoral dissertations. Hundreds and thousands of young men and old ones, as well as the middle-aged, all over the country are devoting themselves, with the greatest assiduity, to the making of extracts and abstracts of original sources, arranging them under appropriate

headings, and translating them into twentieth century English, as ordinarily used in America. These monographs, reports, and dissertations, thus laboriously compiled, are issued in the printed form by universities, some of which do not confine themselves to the printing of works produced within their walls, but take what they can get; others are issued by learned societies under the names of transactions, publications, proceedings, or collections. Given an adequate amount of material and a sufficiency of time, he must be a mediocre man, indeed, or one whose brain has become indurated, who cannot produce a monograph or volume, or even a series of volumes of this type.

Of recent years, the output of doctoral dissertations has greatly increased, owing in part to the establishment of a large number of fellowships which are oftentimes designated as being for research. The ultimate aim of nearly every one of the seekers for doctorates is to engage in the teaching of history in a university, a college, a normal school, or perchance, in a high school. The importance of providing a constant stream of youthful, well trained pedagogues is recognized by all, and justifies the founding and giving of scholarships and fellowships. But we should realize that the production of pedagogues is not the same thing as the bringing forth of scholars, much less is it the making of historical writers or historians. Professor Jameson has remarked upon the barrenness of our doctors. I, too, as a teacher of youth, a conductor of doctoral candidates, a guider in the evolution of theses, have become conscious of the pertinacity with which writers of essays and theses in our colleges and universities, whether they get doctoral degrees or not, stop with the work they do under direction. Get them out of the university, get them away from professorial stimulus, make them teachers, make them librarians, and their original work stops. It is the most heart-rending thing that university teachers of history have to face at the present time. As incitements to individualistic, original research, pecuniary aid has

not as yet proved effective. The man who is going to be a great seeker after truth and a fruitful setter-forth of the facts of human history to his fellowmen cannot be a recluse, living on the scanty bounty of fellowships as they have been and are administered by American universities. The historical seeker and writer must have interests that will compel him to come into contact with other human beings. The names that occur to us of great historical writers, Gibbon, Macaulay, Trevelyan, and Lecky in England, Bancroft, Parkman, Irving, Prescott, Motley, and Palfrey in America, are not those of closeted students, living on the bounties of others. They were all active in pursuits, other than those in which they won their fame. In saying this, I am referring solely to the production of writers of history. Scholarships and fellowships have their justification in producing teachers, catalogue-makers and other craftsmen; but the artist is not to be thus made. The man who has it in him to write a great book will do it and do it better if he has to earn his own living, and is thereby forced into contact with his fellowmen, even if he half starves in the midst of his career.

The qualifications of the historian are multitudinous. He must have training in research, must be able to handle material in manuscript and in printed form, and to sift the truth from the falsehood. He must have the faculty of using the work of others, of recognizing first-class monographs at a glance, almost. The materials of American history are so vast that the historian, even of a fairly limited period, can hardly hope himself to read all the original sources. He must use the work of others; but he himself must also constantly be using original materials; otherwise he will lose the faculty of recognition; and he will miss that local color and flavor which make historical writing tolerable. The task of the historical writer is on all fours with that of the person who works with colors,—the historian seeks to reproduce with the pen the impression his research and reading have made on his mind, as the artist seeks

to reproduce mental impressions with the brush. The task of the man who endeavors to state the truth in an attractive manner in words is far more difficult than that of the novelist or the poet. For the one is hampered in every line by the necessity of speaking the truth, the other is not. The task of the historian is constructive, by reproduction to place in public view the record of the bygone times.

With the worker in colors, the novelist, and the poet, the historian must possess imagination. He must be able to picture to himself in broad outline, the condition of a people at a given time, to see the march of armies, to recognize the inter-action of economic forces, and then to reproduce these impressions with a lightness of touch that will make them readable and with a heaviness of detail that will make them convincing. In his presentation, he must seek to produce a truthful impression upon his reader. Oftentimes, to do this he must sacrifice absolute accuracy in detail and in perspective. If the impression produced upon his reader is truthful, it matters little whether all his dates are correct, all his names are properly spelled, or if all his facts are accurate. Indeed, his dates may every one of them be correct, his names may all be properly spelled, his facts may be absolutely accurate, and the impression left upon his reader be entirely false.

The historian must be a person of broad sympathies; to be an antiquarian is not enough. He must have some sympathy with the ways of the economist and must regard the march of fact in the light of the laws of human development. Professor MacMaster has rightly termed the older historians "dramatic writers." They attributed the Revolution to the Adamses, to Washington, to Henry, to Otis, and to the other great men of that epoch. Approaching the problem from a more modern standpoint, it becomes increasingly evident that the separation from England was largely due to the play of economic forces. At the same time, there is no such thing as economic history; all history is economic.

All historical development is founded upon industry, upon the necessity of supporting life, and the way in which it is done. It is impossible to separate economic history from political history. None the less, the historian owes a debt of deepest gratitude to the economist for rescuing his subject from the abyss of dramatism. The historian must also have enough of training in law to be conscious of the way in which lawyers look at affairs. He must realize the meaning of the word, of the phrase, "the law." It is true that the historian's business and the lawyer's business are very different. The qualities of the mind that make a successful historian are not those that make a successful lawyer; but lack of the feeling or the knowledge of how lawyers look at certain problems is fatal to the best historical production. Similarly, he must have some acquaintance with that which is termed science; he must understand the scientific temperament; and must know something of the results of scientific inquiry.

The historical writer must be a master of perspective; he must see events and men in their true relations. He must not exalt one period unduly, or give too heavy a weight to one set of events; he must not dilate too much on the influence of men and omit to set forth with equal skill the influence of underlying forces. This is not saying that an historical writer cannot treat a limited period or a limited topic or that biography may not be one form of historical writing; but within his field, the historical writer must see the perspective truly. This is one of the most difficult of all achievements for the historian, because in his researches, he is likely to come upon new material relating to some one part of his studies that no one else has ever seen, or rather that no one else has ever understood. The temptation is great to apportion his space according to the importance of his materials, not according to the importance of the events or the men.

The difference between the tasks of those whom I have termed historical craftsmen and those whom I

have called historical writers lies in the amount of thinking necessary for the best production in their respective fields. The searching for documents, the copying of them accurately, the verifying of texts, and the seeing them accurately printed is a work that demands time, labor, and patience. The writing of reports or theses likewise demands prolonged labor in searching out facts, some skill in ascertaining the truth of them, and some facility in putting them together. The object of these productions, however, is not so much to stimulate and interest large numbers of readers as to provide accurate and painstaking statements of fact for the use of university professors and historical writers. It is not expected of the monographer that he shall be interesting or stimulating, he can be as dry and detailed as he pleases. The object of the historian is very different and his mode of procedure must be quite unlike that of the purveyor of transcripts, the editor of original documents, or the writer of monographs.

The first thing that the historian must do, after he has looked over his field carefully, from one end to the other, and acquired some knowledge of relative values and perspective, is to familiarize himself with the facts. It is not enough for him to note down this, that, or the other on paper and then from these notes make up his text. He must pass all this matter through his brain; he must make it a part of himself. To accomplish this, he must become very familiar with his facts; he must be saturated with detail. He must be on speaking terms, so to say, with the men and women who take any leading part in his story. He must know, not merely a critical year or so, in their lives, he must be acquainted with their environment, with their upbringing, with their mental and moral qualities. In treating of economic problems, he cannot array a mass of facts on paper, he must make the facts part of himself; he must ponder them carefully, day after day, month after month, possibly year after year, until their true relation and interaction come to be revealed to him. It is only after this pro-

longed research, this saturation of self with facts, after having gone through these long mental processes, often fraught with serious misgivings, that the historian is prepared to put pen to paper and try to reveal to others that which the past has revealed to him. In writing he seeks to tell the story in such a way that his readers will become convinced without being aware that they are being argued with. In his statements he must be careful not to arouse opposition, but to produce the effect he desires by the employment of lights and shadows precisely as does the artist. He must weigh every sentence, nearly every word, with a view to euphony, to form, and even to grammar. In all this, he must put his own soul into his work and let it shine forth.

The labor and risk involved in producing even a small piece of historical writing is very great. Sometimes, the author feels that it would be advisable to stop. It is absolutely impossible to write a definitive history. Every historian misses or has not access to many, many facts and papers. At any moment a document may come to light to destroy all statements as to some one fact or series of facts; the next historical writer must revise the *dicta* of centuries. An author is always prejudiced by his environment; he is limited by the span of human existence. He must therefore apportion his time so that his chosen task stands a fair chance of accomplishment. Nor can he be blamed for closing his research and beginning the arrangement of his facts, for there is scarcely a field within the purview of the writer on American history that would not yield to research, if carried on for many, many years, or indefinitely. The time comes when the historian must begin to make up his mind. In doing this it is not at all necessary that he should have read every bit of evidence. Take the countless diaries and journals of the blockade of Boston, or simply those dealing with Bunker Hill; there are differences between them, no doubt, but in essentials they teach the same truths. These will be patent to the man of historical genius when he has read

three or four of them, and will never become visible to him whose mind works in another way, no matter how many he may read.

In looking about for writers of history in this country at the present moment, the seeker is met with greater discouragement than would befall him in almost any other path of original research. The American people are in the midst of a cycle of commercialism. There has not been a time for many years, at any rate, when scholarship has been so lightly valued in the United States as it is at the present moment. In talking with students, in viewing the books that are printed, one is driven to this conclusion, lamentable though it is. Scholarship is momentarily at a very low ebb, because it is not valued throughout the country at large. Nowadays the size of the output and not the quality of the production is what attracts attention. The standardization of education, not the making of scholars, is the cry. Let anyone turn the matter over in his own mind and see if he cannot count the really first-class works of American historical writers within the last twenty-five years, on his fingers; and yet conceive of the number of persons engaged in historical pursuits and the number of books constantly published under the guise of history! Some day the wheel will turn around; scholarship will again be valued as a national asset; and a new Parkman will arise! Possibly, he may produce only one volume, but if that volume shall be of the quality of the "Pioneers of France," it will do more for the cause of educating the plain people and the building up of his own reputation than the printing of documents by the ton or the publication of monographs by the dozen.

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